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West 'Falsifying' Soviet Chemical-Weapon Data

AU2402091289 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Feb 89 p 3

[NOVOSTI commentary "especially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI" by NOVOSTI political commentator Spartak Beglov: "Chemical Weapons in the USSR—the West Is Falsifying Data"]

[Text] Yet another joint attempt to distort official Soviet data on the quantities of chemical weapons in USSR arsenals was recently made in London and Washington. First of all, the London TIMES, basing itself on anonymous government sources, described the Soviet figure of 50,000 tonnes as absurd and claimed that Soviet stockpiles actually amount to 300,000 tonnes. The paper also included in this total biological weapons, which the USSR does not possess at all.

The next day, William Burns, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, speaking in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, not only supported the accusations against the USSR whereby the Soviet Union is concealing the actual figures on chemical- and biological-weapon stockpiles, but also said that even the quantities quoted by the London daily are major underestimates.

The relevant Soviet circles whom we asked for an explanation said that these accusations are nothing new. The Soviet side has already explained during negotiations that the data published by Moscow concerns the net weight of chemical substances, not the weight of shells or containers. It is clear that if one fails to calculate weapons quantities this way, one can then invent all kinds of figures and distort the real state of affairs.

As far as biological weapons are concerned, no source is in a position to provide any data on these weapons, for the simple reason that no such weapons exist in the Soviet Union. Moscow adheres closely to the 1972 convention that bans biological weapons.

Thus, conjectures like this are nothing new. However, the moment in time chosen by London and Washington is highly significant. New U.S. President G. Bush has said that a ban on chemical weapons is one of his priorities. Moscow has not only said that it is aiming for the same goal, but it has already traveled a certain distance along the road leading to it. Over the past 2 years, the USSR has published information about its chemical-weapon stockpiles and has decided to halt their production. The construction of a facility to destroy these weapons is nearing completion. Finally, as has already been announced, the USSR is eliminating its chemical weapons unilaterally, without waiting for an international convention to be signed. Moscow is also ready to permit on-site international inspections.

In a situation like this, the Americans have nothing that could consolidate the President's noble intentions. Hence the speculations meant to divert attention from the real state of affairs. In the meantime, Moscow is still waiting for Washington's first step—in other words, the publication of the quantities of U.S. chemical weapons.

Conclusion of MBFR Negotiations Viewed

AU0602132089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Feb 89 p 7

[CTK report from Vienna: "Conclusion to the Vienna Negotiations After 15 Years"]

[Text] Vienna —Following 15 years without agreement the negotiations on reducing the amount of armed forces and arms in central Europe came to an end in Vienna on Thursday [2 February]. The negotiations were concluded on the basis of the decision by the 23 member states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO to begin new discussions in Vienna in March on conventional armed forces in the whole of Europe.

It is reported in the final document that since 1973, a serious dialogue between East and West has been maintained on security questions. It was the first multilateral forum scrutinizing a series of problems connected with the attempt to strengthen security and stability in Europe. It proved that the extent of the common ground was not enough for the participants to be able to agree on a treaty. Nevertheless, the positions of both sides moved closer together on a number of issues.

The spokesman for the Czechoslovak delegation, Ivan Broz, in a conversation with a CTK correspondent, among others, said that the experiences gained were valuable and will certainly be utilized during the new negotiations. It primarily transpired that in disarmament negotiations all of the participants must have a sense for the realities of international development, positive political will for achieving tangible results, the capability of having a flexible approach to even the most sensitive problems, and the courage to accept the necessary compromises.

Foto Cami Speaks on Tasks Facing Artists

AU2702225289 Tirana DRITA in Albanian
19 Feb 89 p 1-4

["Speech by Foto Cami," AWP Central Committee Politburo member, at a meeting organized by the Writers and Artists League in Tirana on 17 February]

[Excerpts] At this meeting, where we have gathered together to exchange views on tasks and pledges for this jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation, allow me to express a few ideas on the issues of literature and art that interest us all.

The party considers literature and art to be important aspects of the spiritual life of society. It has taken care to make them as rich, various, and healthy as possible, and developing in the spirit of the demands of the times, and beating with the pulse of our entire socialist life. [passage omitted]

We might mention the novel "Concert at Winter's End" by our distinguished writer Ismail Kadare, who is outstanding for his commitment and militancy, Dhimiter Xhuvani's novel "I Do Not Sell My Soul," and the novels and stories of Vath Koreshi, Kico Blushi, and Teodor Laco. The poetry of our well-known writer Dritero Agolli has experienced a "late flowering," to paraphrase his title. Ilirian Zhupa, Bardhyl Londo, and others have also produced good work. In cinematography too, there has been the occasional film with a degree of worth, such as "Fable From the Past." [passage omitted]

The principle defect in many recent literary publications has been the absence of a questing spirit, questing in both life and in the treasure store of literature's means of expression, which has led to an impoverishment of both form and content. The need for a qualitative improvement in our literature is inseparable from deeper realism, something which goes hand in hand with proletarian party-mindedness, one of the most essential aspects of our literature and arts. You cannot match the party's demands for literature and art if party mindedness is lacking or does not spring from true realism, which neither beautifies nor paints a black picture. Even worse than preconceived views of reality, are outmoded cliches and schematicism, such as occur in some literary works whose party-mindedness is thus pallid, and merely an a priori attitude. [passage omitted]

We must pay more attention to some weaknesses in recent poetry. A mood of dilettantism and a lack of culture have led to cerebral productions, sometimes based on models found in random reading. Much recently-published poetry does not address the reader and real problems and the rich world in which our people live are absent. Some literary conventions are overused, and musicality and true poetic feeling have been discarded. In poetry, especially that of young people, one encounters ignorance of our poetic traditions and of folklore, and little knowledge of life. This leads to narrowness of themes, and very similar poems exhibiting poverty of expression and often no content. We must turn our gaze more to the people and their culture and life, to the finest achievements of our poetry and to the treasures of world culture as a whole, in order to avoid imitation, poverty of outlook, and a false view of culture.

The demand is not that other people should understand poetry, but that poetry itself should speak, and be clear and comprehensible. Who needs poetry that one does not understand, and when you have to have the author sitting next to you explaining what he had in mind? Such a situation does not indicate lack of culture on the part of the person who does not understand the poetry, as some people write in the press, but shows lack of culture, broad horizons, and deep thinking on the part of those who write so obscurely and also, I would say, on the part of those who defend them. [passage omitted]

Despite the well-known achievements of our cinematography, mediocre cliches and old-fashioned schematicism have recently become entrenched in the investigation and presentation of issues. A shallow view of life has led not only to lack of realism in films, but also to a lack of feeling and true artistic values. It is no accident that we see a pallid portrayal of reality in some of our films, and various tricks are employed to compensate for the paucity of content and deep thinking, for the failure to penetrate into the heart of contradictions, and to produce true beauty, which is never a cardboard affair, in the course of the collision and development of these conflicts.

The most evident backwardness is in drama and theater. There can be no true art without ambitious artistic aims. Dilettantism and amateurism must never set the tone for our stages. Moreover, the vulgarity and rudeness that we saw in the New Year Concert and see on many of the country's stages are alien to the cultural level of our society. [passage omitted]

The instruction of the Ninth AWP Congress that literary and artistic works should be pervaded by a philosophical message is also a deeply cultural requirement. However, in order to give a work such a message, you must yourself be an artist well equipped with our Marxist philosophy. This means looking reality in the eye, taking from it what is most important and characteristic of the age, identifying contradictions and leading them toward resolution, and learning the laws of such developments. This also means maintaining an attitude which is critical in the dialectic sense, which does not involve denigrating or slandering the truth. This means undergoing transformation and strongly affirming the new and the revolutionary. It means creating! Future works must aim more at this dialectic affirmation, because artists in this way

become true missionaries of progress. This means abandoning archaic forms and thinking and rejecting outmoded schematicism and cliches. It calls for artistic innovation in form and content. [passage omitted]

Writer Ismail Kadare Views Balkan Situation
AU2602140789 Tirana ATA in English
0900 GMT 26 Feb 89

["So That the Chauvinist Winds Cease"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 26 (ATA)—The newspaper DRITA of February 26 carries the writing entitled "So That the Chauvinist Winds Cease" by the writer Ismail Kadare, a writing which as also published, some days ago, in the French newspaper LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE. The writing says among others:

Who knows even a little on the Balkans it is clear to him that in contrast with the political diversity, in contrast with the chauvinist psychoses and the religions and interethnic intolerance, the Balkan peoples have an affinity and common points that are really surprising when it comes to some fundamental and eternal questions. They have an analogous vision on the life and death, have similar customs, moral codes, melodies, traditional costumes and ballads, not to say some times in common, just as they have many other similar features of psychology and character. And this affinity has nothing to do with genetics, but is a result, first and foremost, of the prolonged neighbourliness, hence, of the interpenetration of cultures.

It is this cultural inter-Balkan substrate that has urged many personalities of the peninsula to suggest the Balkan governments that in their action of rapprochement to be based more on this positive and reliable foundation. Only in this way, associated with a broad action of emancipation, the inter-Balkan political action might be crowned with success. Otherwise, it risks to always remain something easily shaken even by the lightest storm. The Balkan peoples have been more in affinity before the 20th century. The rapprochement among them has been a consequent result of the inter-Balkan civilisation.

Naturally, the writer Ismail Kadare writes, the tableau of the relations among the Balkan peoples has never been idyllic, and the quarrels and splits have always existed, just like everywhere in the world, but as time passed, instead of reducing, they have increased and in the 20th century they reached the climax.

One can find all the encouraging and discouraging examples in the Balkans, the writing stresses further on. Among the neighbouring peoples, the two most ancient of the peninsula, the Greeks and the Albanians, have nevertheless had no complexes towards each other. With the exception of sporadic excesses, very short for a thousand year-long neighbourliness, they have had good relations. Both parties are proud, the Greeks for known reasons, first of all for the ancient past, the Albanians for the Illyrian origin, for the history and the high posts in the several-century Ottoman Empire. Hence, both greatly proud peoples and very easily offended like all the proud, placed their relations on mutual respects. At the present relations between socialist Albania and capitalist Greece, I think, this positive baggage of the past has played a considerable role.

Unfortunately, quite different remained the tableau of the Albanian-Serb relations. Traditionally delicate, they have been greatly shaken recently. The rallies of the Serbs and Montenegrins and then those of the Albanians of Kosovo, of which the world press wrote extensively, are but part of the gloomy tableau. Successive analyses are being made about them in Yugoslavia so that to draw conclusions and to pass the proper sentences. But two standards are used to appreciate them. The Serb, Montenegrin rallies are described as positive, as an expression of the voice of the masses, etc., whereas the Albanian ones as hostile, counterrevolutionary, etc., etc. This is one of the numerous discriminations which the Albanians of Yugoslavia complain of, who, like all the ancient autochthonous Balkan peoples, consider particularly unbearable any kind of discrimination. But, someone who knows it very well, sticks to it. The press, radio, TV continually offend this nation so that they exasperate it and then, as the Albanians put it, to justify the repression against them, according to the now well-known formula, provocation-exasperation-repression. It is not fortuitous that recently the Yugoslav TV has praised several times the Serbian academician Vasa Cubrilovic, the author of a notorious doctrine on the genocide towards the Albanians, a doctrine for which he, according to the latter's opinion, would merit the Nuremberg trial. Everyone has the right to ask that in which state of the world an academician who has proposed the extermination of two million citizens of his country has been decorated?

Much is spoken today of Kosovo's drama. There is no doubt that there is a drama in Kosovo, but it must be seen whose drama is it and whose is the spectacle. The Serbs claim that they are being persecuted by the Albanians, the latter say the contrary. Indeed, it is not believable that a population that has the Army and police on its side, as is the case of the Serbs, be persecuted by the other, which is surveyed day and night by the police to be found in fault, and, in reality, the prisons, the most stubborn testimony of every persecution, are filled with Albanian political prisoners. Whereas the Serbs, as proof of their persecution, invoke the exodus from Kosovo under the alleged Albanian pressure, the Albanians say that this exodus has mainly economic reasons. Meanwhile, no one speaks of the Albanians' exodus, which surpasses in number that of the Serbs. According to the Serbs, the Albanian pressure is exerted, first and foremost, through the use of sexual violence towards the Serbian women and girls. The Albanians, distinguished in the Balkans for a code of honour, who in fact being very strict, as they have been

defined in a critical way by the Albanian intelligentsia, severely condemn in particular the sexual excess, and feel themselves profoundly offended by such an accusation. Moreover, according to the theory of two measures, an Albanian that violates a Serbian girl is sentenced with 14 years of imprisonment, whereas a Serb that violates an Albanian girl with three years.

The Albanians have also been called as persons seeking Yugoslavia's destabilization because in the recent rallies they have demanded not to change the 1974 Constitution. They have considered this accusation as absurd, because in case one is persistent in maintaining the Constitution (on this occasion Tito's Constitution, the founder of the present-day Yugoslavia) he might at most merit definition as conservative, whereas the term destabilize is inappropriate here.

It is clearly seen that there are destabilizing forces in Yugoslavia today, but it is a loss of time to seek them where they are not. Destabilizing are precisely those forces who with morbid passion blow the chauvinist winds. The Albanians, as autochthonous Balkan peoples, are particularly offended by the alterations made to their history and the negation of their autochthony. The ways of rapprochement can never pass through falsification, discrimination and terror, the author of the article underlines in conclusion. It is in vain to hope that by repeating a lie a thousand times one day it will come true. When the Balkan peoples speak of rapprochement, they make use of the expression "the bridges of friendship." The peoples of the peninsula have a common legend on the sacrifice that should be made in the feet of a bridge, under construction, so that the bridge stands. On this occasion, it is clear that it is chauvinism that must be sacrificed, by entering forever in the foundations of the bridge of Balkan rapprochement.

Paper Comments on Cadre Rotation, Management

AU2102144589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 Feb 89 p 1

["Issue for Action": "The Rotation of Cadres Is Not a Matter of Musical Chairs"]

[Text] Problems of organization and management have always been and continue to be fellow travelers in every social system. Socialism is different from other systems, because it has always taken into consideration its function as a state of broad democracy for the working masses at every level of management, in all its institutions, and at all levels of administration. However, in addition to setting up the leading organs of the party and of the state, of the mass organizations, and so forth, the party has always retained the very important role of people, of leading cadres, at the center of its attention.

It is difficult to find, since the founding of the party and until now, a study, analysis, report, or a directive in which the party and Comrade Enver have not dealt with the problem of management, cadres, and work with people. The party has given particular attention to the questions of the qualification, training, and to the rotation of cadres, as a way, this, of the regeneration of cadres, to keep them fresh, as a communist method for the revolutionization of cadres, as one way of increasing the number of leaders throughout the party and state organs, choosing people ranging from ordinary, but capable workers, to the higher party cadres and office holders in the ministries and various institutions.

Comrade Ramiz Alia himself gave us a broad picture of the growth and consolidation of cadres, at the Vlore District AWP Committee plenum. Let us not forget that there are nearly 70,000 cadres with higher education, who lead, work, and create in all fields of life; there are hundreds of thousands of people with secondary and vocational education; and let us not forget that one-third of the country's population are learning at school or the university. This represents a great potential on the front of socialist construction.

But how is this great wealth being utilized? Everything moves, undoubtedly, in the direction of growth and development, but if we talk about the capabilities, potential, and mobilization, then the reserves are still considerable. It is precisely this issue that Comrade Ramiz Alia dealt with in detail at the Vlore plenum, stressing particularly the rotation of cadres and the establishment of norms of intellectual work. However, we must admit that movement in this direction is still slow, too little is being done, and in some cases it has become acceptable to make a lot of noise about this problem, while there is very little action.

Why? Let us take the issue of the rotation of cadres. No sooner is this problem raised in departments, institutions, enterprises, or other sectors, than there begins so-called "studies." Then we have sentimental analyses with the question: Who will be the first to go on the list? Who are those with fewer family problems? What benefits does the cadre leave behind in this place, and what will the position be like wherever he is going? What is his pay here and how much will it be there? Everything is done smoothly and without any bother at all.

The fact that the party has placed its solicitude for people at the center of its attention, this is undeniable. In our party's policy, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out in Lushnje, people, their life, and their well-being are at the center of attention. It is not right, however, that we should consider the rotation of cadres, in some cases, almost as a misfortune for the person concerned. Cadre rotation is not a mere change of chairs or positions. In our socialist society, the rotation of cadres is a driving force which frees and sets in motion the creative and organizational talent and energy of thousands of cadres, who have been trained with so much effort and sacrifices.

Rotating cadres, no matter what their new position may be, must think primarily about the way they are going to carry out their new duties. They must look at themselves and their work critically, they must consider their style and method of work, they must consider the criticisms of their colleagues, and they must consider how to avoid making the same mistakes in their new jobs. They must, rightly, think about the way they will be received, how to establish contacts and communicate with the people in their new job, and they must think about the way in which they will act, together with the new collective, to fulfill their work programs. If they think in this manner, cadres will then find new strength in themselves, they will work better and more intelligently, they themselves will be inspired and they will inspire others in their work. But we do not always find such thinking among rotating cadres and, what is even worse, matters are not improved when this spirit is also prevailing among those who deal with and are responsible for cadre rotation.

Thus, our correspondent in Mirdite, observed recently a certain hesitation about the issue of cadre rotation; some names had simply remained on the list. In Fier, efforts are being made to ensure that a cooperative chairman, a good man, certainly, but who does not justify his position, be appointed again as chairman, of another cooperative, in an area, this time, where results are even weaker. In Tirana, efforts are being made quite openly to appoint a female comrade from Fier as director of the food enterprise, no one knows with what justification.

At the seventh AWP Central Committee plenum, in addition to the great, concrete, and feasible tasks in agriculture in this jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation, and proceeding concretely from the needs of improving methods of management, Comrade Ramiz Alia also presented the very important decisions concerning cadre rotation and the appointments of comrades from the Politburo itself, as well as those in the government and at other levels, in order to provide a new impulse and to ensure that cadres assume greater responsibility for the tasks they are entrusted with.

Thus, now that the party itself has given us, not only the decisions of the seventh plenum, but also a concrete example, there is no need to wait before providing a new impulse to the question of cadre rotation. If matters are proceeding well in the fields of the economy, cooperatives, and enterprises, the time has come to take a closer and more direct look at the way things are going in the propaganda, education, culture, and some other sectors, where a certain sluggishness and procrastination is observed in the matter of cadre rotation. In these sectors there are cadres who must be rotated, because they have been in their positions for a very long time, but more importantly, because in a number of cases, they are characterized by sluggishness, are reluctant to give up outdated methods of work, and are drawing up endless plans for seminars, aktivs, meetings, and discussions, which frequently remain on paper.

The times, the dynamism of our life, require that the slogan concerning the party's decisions and tasks should be—every communist, every cadre must be alert, no matter what his position or responsibility.

Polish Foreign Minister Olechowski Visits

Arrives in Sofia

AU2702142089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Tadeusz Olechowski, Poland's minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Bulgaria on 27 February. At Sofia airport the guest was greeted by Comrade Petur Mladenov and other officials.

Upon his arrival Tadeusz Olechowski told reporters:

First of all I would like to stress that this is a working visit at the invitation of my great friend, Minister Petur Mladenov. We shall begin our work this afternoon. The question, posed by the Polish foreign minister is, how do we strengthen our cooperation even more under today's rapidly changing conditions? I have in mind both bilateral Bulgarian-Polish cooperation and cooperation within the framework of our community. For our part, I can say that we are very satisfied with our cooperation. We would like to improve our economic relations and contacts in the sphere of production. I think that friends, such as Poles and Bulgarians are, can find common and mutually beneficial solutions, said Tadeusz Olechowski, Polish minister of foreign affairs, upon his arrival in Bulgaria.

Talks Open 27 Feb

AU2702194789 Sofia BTA in English 1808 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—At the talks which started here between the ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Poland Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Tadeusz Olechowski, who arrived on a friendly working visit today, the two sides focused their attention on the bilateral relations.

Satisfaction was expressed over the political interaction. The two sides expressed wishes for giving new impetus to the economic cooperation, to the contacts in all spheres of life.

There is a joint conviction that the two fraternal states will find even more efficient ways and means for development of their relations.

Tomorrow the Bulgaro-Polish talk will continue.

Mladenov Hosts Dinner

AU2702194989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Minister Petur Mladenov gave an official dinner in honor of Tadeusz Olechowski, his Polish colleague at the Sofia New Otani Hotel. Comrade Milko Balev was among those present at the dinner which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. The two ministers proposed toasts.

Dinner Speeches Given

AU2702210789 Sofia BTA in English 1933 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—Stressing the upgrade development of the Bulgaro-Polish relations Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs Mr Petur Mladenov said that considerable capital for the future has been accumulated.

At the dinner in honour of Mr Tadeusz Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs of Poland, who is on a friendly working visit to this country, the leader of the Bulgarian diplomacy pointed out that a new approach is necessary to the questions of cooperation, that the formulation about the interdependence is valid for the socialist system as well.

It is an illusion even to think that a single country, no matter which, can manage to solve all its problems alone. In this sense it is our duty, as we open ourselves to the world, to open ourselves to each other first, said Minister Mladenov.

Further on he pointed out that the putting on the agenda of the question of the Bulgaro-Polish relations is not due to a wish for repairing old mistakes but it is due to the understanding of the new conditions. An example of innovative approaches and decisions is given by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Wojciech Jaruzelski, added the Bulgarian foreign minister.

Stressing the coincidence of the positions on the international issues, Bulgaria's foreign minister emphasized the conclusions common for the two states: The most important thing is that the Warsaw Treaty member states look at the struggle for the present and the future day of socialism as an indivisible part of the common struggle for civilized international relations. As a philosophy, as well as a practice the new political thinking enjoys ever wider recognition. The initiatives and the actions of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries give concrete results which support the belief and the hopes of the peoples.

Mr Petur Mladenov dwelled on the aims of the fraternal countries at the new negotiations on conventional weapons and on the strengthening of the confidence and security in Europe. On the base of the Vienna document the collective efforts will be oriented toward making irreversible the process of disarmament and the consolidation of world peace, for the achievement of serious steps on the long road toward the realization of the great idea—the construction of the common European house.

In his answer Mr Tadeusz Olechowski spoke of the successful development of the bilateral relations, of the favourable conditions for interaction, created as a result of the signing of the programme for cooperation between the BCP and the Polish United Worker's Party in the sphere of politics, ideology, science and culture.

The guest commented on the innovative processes in Poland and Bulgaria. He said that there is a clear similarity between the changes underway in the fraternal countries: That is why we follow with great attention the changes in Bulgaria aiming at the restructuring of the system for state government, as well as at the improvement of the socialist democracy, he added.

Mr Tadeusz Olechowski paid special attention to the bilateral economic and techno-scientific cooperation and showed interest in the broadening of the more modern forms of partnership: joint productions, joint research programmes.

By constantly developing versatile economic cooperation with the socialist countries we are aiming a kind of restructuring of the CMEA which would create real conditions and effective mechanisms for interrelation, adopted to the changes in the international life, the guest pointed out.

The Polish foreign minister declared himself for deepening of the positive processes in the East-West relations and stressed that the agreements already attained in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, the initiatives raised by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev at the last General Assembly session of the United Nations, the Soviet reductions of the conventional weapons would replace the confrontation in Europe with cooperation. "The changes in the structure of the armed forces and in other spheres of the Warsaw Treaty are subordinate to this aim," Mr Tadeusz Olechowski said.

The guest spoke favorably of the recently ended Vienna follow-up meeting and expressed Poland's readiness to follow them closely.

In conclusion the Polish foreign minister said that the aim of the "Jaruzelski Plan" is to reduce the tensions in Europe and the 50th anniversary of the eruption of World War Two gives grounds to increase the actions and consolidate the international legal bases of the existing European order.

Bulgaria's peace-loving policy in the Balkans was highly esteemed.

Atanasov Receives Olechowski

AU2802131389 Sofia BTA in English
1255 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 28 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria received today Mr Tadeusz Oleshowski, the Polish foreign affairs minister, who is paying a friendly working visit to this country.

At the meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, the possibilities were discussed for the further expansion and deepening of Bulgaro-Polish economic and techno-scientific cooperation in the spirit of the agreements between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Wojciech Jaruzelski from September last year. A survey was made of the fulfillment of the concept for the development of economic and techno-scientific cooperation between Bulgaria and Poland up to the year 2005 and the need was stressed of the further deepening of specialization and cooperation, of the expansion of direct production relations and the setting up of joint enterprises, companies and techno-scientific associations. Special attention was paid to the restructuring in the work of CMEA in the spirit of the resolutions of the 43d and 44th sessions.

Mr Petur Mladenov, the foreign affairs minister of this country, was present at the meeting.

Zhivkov Receives Olechowski

AU2802143489 Sofia BTA in English
1343 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 28 (BTA)—Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee [CC] of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria received today Mr Tadeusz Olechowski, member of the CC of the Polish United Workers Party and foreign affairs minister of Poland who is paying an official friendly visit to this country.

Mr Todor Zhivkov acquainted the guest with the deep qualitative changes underway in the economic and political system of this country. He stressed that one of the objectives of restructuring is to turn Bulgaria into an ever more active and useful international partner and to contribute to the deepening and improvement of cooperation between the fraternal socialist states on a bilateral and mutilateral basis.

The two sides stressed at the meeting the identity in principle of the aims of restructuring and renovation of socialism in Bulgaria and Poland with the restructuring in the Soviet Union.

In the course of the talk, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, a positive evaluation was given to bilateral cooperation and the necessity was stressed of its activation particularly in the sphere of economy.

There was also an exchange of opinions on international issues and it was emphasized that lately, as a result of the new political thinking, some positive changes are being observed and the trends are seen toward an East-West dialogue and toward strengthening of confidence and cooperation.

Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and foreign affairs minister of Bulgaria was present at the meeting.

Olechowski Tours Plovdiv

AU2802202289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olekhowski, who is paying a friendly working visit to Bulgaria, arrived in Plovdiv today. He was accompanied by Comrade Petur Mladenov.

The guest toured the cultural and historical sights of the city and paid his respects at the Soviet Army Memorial on the Hill of the Liberators and at the Common Grave.

A meeting took place with Pantaley Pachov, first secretary of Plovdiv Oblast BCP Committee, and Stoyanka Krustenova, chairman of the Executive Council of Plovdiv Oblast People's Council.

Economic Cooperation Talks With Poland Reported

Initial Remarks Made

AU2402200089 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—My interest in Bulgaria arises from the similarity of the economic and political processes in the two countries, from the mutual interest to develop cooperation, said Mr Mieczyslaw Wilczek to a BTA reporter. From February 21 through February 24 the minister of industry of Poland paid an official business visit here at the invitation of the Bulgarian Government.

This is the first visit I have ever paid to a socialist country in my capacity of minister, Mr Wilczek said. He expressed his opinion that Bulgaria has made a great leap in the development of the modern industrial sectors-biotechnology, the chemical and the electronic industries. Together with my Bulgarian colleagues we established that there are many possibilities to join forces. I am convinced that we will get good results by working together. The documents signed in Sofia have this purpose in view and also contain provisions for the establishment of Bulgaro-Polish enterprises in the near future, Mr Wilczek said.

He had meetings with Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, Mr Petko Danchev, president of the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association, Mr Ivan Tenev, president of the Electronic Industry Association. Mr Wilczek and his Bulgarian colleagues signed documents reflecting the agreement they reached to activate cooperation and make use of the outlined new forms of common work.

Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the Polish minister. They exchanged information on the restructuring in the two countries and pointed out that there are possibilities for extending the direct contacts between enterprises and companies and setting up joint ventures.

Further on Meetings

AU2702183789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Feb 89 p 2

[BTA report: "Bulgaria-Poland: Bilateral Relations Expand"]

[Text] Mieczyslaw Wilczek, Poland's minister of industry, visited Bulgaria from 21 to 24 February at the invitation of the Bulgarian Government.

At the meeting between the Polish guest and Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of planning and economy, information was exchanged on the progress of restructuring that is taking place in both countries, and on the contents and essence of the legal documents that have been worked out. The possibilities and directions of expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Bulgaria and Poland under the new economic conditions were discussed.

During his visit Mieczyslaw Wilczek visited enterprises of the biotechnological and chemical industry and from electronics. He had talks with Petko Danchev, chairman of the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Association, on developing joint activity in this area. It will be directed mainly toward developing cooperation in machine building for the needs of the branch, constructing joint enterprises in the biotechnologies, chemistry for everyday life, the processing of plastics, and the production of pharmaceuticals and perfumes and cosmetic products.

At the meeting with Ivan Tanev, chairman of the "Elektronika" Association, ways were mapped out to strengthen contacts and cooperation in the sphere of consumer electronics and to utilize joint investments in producing television picture tubes, certain materials, and special technological equipment.

On 24 February the Polish guest and his Bulgarian colleagues signed documents in Sofia, that reflect the agreements achieved on activating cooperation in the relevant areas, and on the new forms of bilateral contacts that were pointed out.

The Polish minister also had talks with Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations.

Adamec Addresses Youth on Restructuring

AU2702110889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
23 Feb 89 p 3

[Speech by Ladislav Adamec, premier and CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, at a meeting with representatives of the youth of Bratislava and the West Slovak region, held on the premises of the Slovak Central School of Politics of the Socialist Youth Union, in Bratislava on 22 February: "Youth and Restructuring Belong Together"]

[Text] Comrades, I am glad of the opportunity to meet the representatives of the youth of Bratislava and the West Slovak region for an exchange of views on their role in implementing the program of social restructuring.

What is the main purpose of this meeting, and what do we expect from it? In preparing this aktiv of meeting with the representatives of the Socialist Youth Union (SSM), we considered how to orient the contents, and what form their preparation and course should take. I myself am an enemy of unnecessary sessions, of all kinds of formalism and pomposity—everybody knows this about me. It is not my habit to lecture or preach, to hand out one-sided praise, or just to criticize. I consider my statement to be an introduction to a discussion of issues which interest and worry both you and me. The main thing is to clarify mutual stands, to have a frank exchange of views, and to find common conclusions.

Cultured political work involves the ability to speak openly and to the point, in a businesslike manner in keeping with real life, which is not always a life of positive results or easy successes. We have to make an effort to achieve something new; we have to pay a certain price for it. Progress must be deserved, a just reward for our efforts. It is impossible to make one's way forward just by waiting for gifts from above or by relying on miracles; the only way one can make it is by energetically striving to improve living and working conditions, to realize one's ideals. Why am I beginning my address by mentioning these issues? Because part of our society has an ingrained, wrong idea that socialism is omnipotent, that its treasure chest for distributing gifts is bottomless, that our every wish can be fulfilled just by relying on somebody else's goodwill, writing down a list of requirements, and sending it to the proper address. This view may seem radical, but in reality it has nothing to do with science, with the revolutionary spirit, or with the interests of the younger generation. The attitude of mere petitioners and supplicants is undignified, but it signifies a lack of belief in one's own strength, an underrating of one's abilities. Such an attitude is most harmful, for it weakens one's energetic stand in life and leads to passivity and to the avoidance of responsibility. Indifference and unconcern for public, collective, and personal affairs impoverish young people's ideals and threaten their advantages. In fact, to be young primarily means to have the courage to create new things, to show initiative in overcoming obstacles, to be interested in all that is happening, and to be irreconcilable toward lies and deceit.

Comrades, one of the main causes of our country's lag in science, technology, culture, and other spheres was the spread of complacency. Although such stances were volubly criticized and condemned, in practice they were often overlooked and justified. To halt this negative development, we must be irreconcilable, resolute, and consistent in this sphere in particular. The program of social restructuring is the answer to the challenge of difficult times and of complicated tasks. Surely one cannot evade or postpone restructuring, or limit it to a mere propaganda campaign. I am convinced that nobody promoting the concept of stagnation and backwardness can pass muster among our citizens, and least of all among our young people. Nobody has proposed a better course, and we know of no other, no better way out of the situation.

The adoption and development of the restructuring program was a historical decision; it concerns the further fate of our country and the future of socialism in the CSSR. The basic directions have been set—everything else must be resolved on the move, by utilizing the experiences of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

It is a basic issue, a matter of principle, to enlist the largest possible number of people for this, to win their confidence, their support, and their innermost conviction, which would be expressed by deeds, and not by pompous words of agreement, by demonstratively participating in gatherings or with signatures following declarations. The democratization program formulated at the CPCZ's initiative is a program of activating all links of our social system; it is oriented toward mobilizing all strata of our society, particularly our younger generation and its representative, the SSM. I am no advocate of unjustified privileges, but youth in many respects have a special status. How is this expressed? Certainly not by lowering the criteria of the standards of young people's training, the justification of their weaknesses and mistakes, or false kowtowing and insincere praise for their unripe proposals. Nor does it have anything to do with the unjustified preference of age criteria over everything else.

The young people's special status lies in a more sensitive approach to their views, stands, and behavior, which follows from our grasping the fact that the future belongs to young people who are still preparing for it, who are still learning and gaining experience.

The complicated nature of the present—when many things are changing or being reappraised, when new things are being born—is reflected in the way that all age groups think and act. The older generations do not find life easy, for they must unlearn things they had become

accustomed to, and they must overcome the pull of stereotypes, traditions, and ingrained ideas. However, I do not believe that life is any easier for a young person, who is just getting his bearings and who is still looking for his place in life.

During its 4 months in office, the new federal government has found that in the contents and style of its work, and in its solution of topical, burning issues, it must be the acknowledged representative of all generations—including elderly people, who have accomplished a lot, who have had to make considerable sacrifices, and whose work justly deserves respect and recognition. We still have a large debt to create conditions for their satisfied life; there is no doubt about this. And it is not just a matter of finances or new investments, but also of a just appreciation of their merits, of respect for their honest, devoted work. I mention this here because this cannot be achieved by laws and decrees alone—it is also a matter of good personal relations, which also involve young people. Sometimes their contribution to these relations is good, and at other times less good.

Revolutionary Transformations in the Young People's Best Interests

We are carrying out the revolutionary transformations primarily for the young people, and in their best interests. However, these transformations cannot be put into practice without conscious energetic involvement. Such a great feat is not feasible if its purpose is not grasped and fully believed in, if one is not determined to overcome each and every possible obstacle.

Why and how do young people and restructuring belong together? Young people and revolutionary feats have certain common features—they are oriented toward the future, toward authenticity; they are devoted to moral ideals; they feel an aversion toward deceit, and they have the courage to fight for a good thing. The struggle for restructuring also provides an opportunity for young people to assert their romantic yearnings. This romanticism does not lie just in recalling the legends of partisan detachments or the construction projects of the first 5-year plans. The longing for it cannot be satisfied by false emphasis on the seeming romanticism of everyday life, on the force of habit of everyday worries. The romanticism of the present lies in the magnitude of ideas and the difficulties of struggles for social justice, in the courageous resolve to venture along unexplored paths, to take risks, and not to fear conflicts. However, another ideal is also possible—the vision of good cheer in standing aside, in merely handing out suggestions, classifying other people, giving speculative advice, and casting doubt on the sense of any and all efforts in advance.

There recently has been a lot of talk going around about the attitudes toward the past—sometimes in the serious intention to clarify blind spots in our knowledge, and at other times because it is fashionable, or because people like sensations. To be interested in history and to strive to get rid of prejudices and illusions is both healthy and beneficial. I myself belong to a generation which was fortunate enough to be involved in turning socialist programs into reality. We knew from our own experience what capitalism is like, and what a great revolutionary change lay in May 1945 and in February 1948. I was one of the active participants in the February events of 41 years ago. I still like to recall those days with pride, as well as the fact that I was involved at the time; I do so with a spirit of appraisal of our ideals and ideas for the future, and a feeling of responsibility for putting them into practice.

This recent past is still too fresh; it concerns the interests of many living participants, and in many respects it still bears the mark of their understanding of the struggles of yesterday.

It has never been easy to rise above one's own views. This must be taken into account, and understood. Nothing will be gained by a radical condemnation. However, the appraisal must not be postponed, because society needs an objective and truthful view. If our past experience fails to open our eyes, then we will not be able to get rid of the burden of outdated ideas. How can we avoid things if we do not know what was good, just, and justified in the past, and what was not? However, by this I do not mean that one should rummage through history for the sake of rummaging, or that one should dissect everything at any price and reappraise things regardless of the facts. Let us leave the details to qualified historians. But it is important to learn the right lesson, and to apply this knowledge practically tomorrow.

Comrades, we are living in revolutionary, exciting times which commit us to show courage and boldness, but also prudence, as well as a sense of duty and responsibility for the future. Deep transformations are taking place before our very eyes, with our participation. Their course will greatly affect the fate of the generation now entering the working process and our political and social life. We can hear people ask: What is the present situation like? Without an answer to this natural question nobody, least of all a young person, can grasp the sense of all that is happening to him and around him.

The state of our economy is frequently discussed. You know from your own experience that although life in our country is good, we cannot be satisfied with everything.

What does this specifically apply to? In short, to the efficiency of our entire national economy. Although we have attained the planned rate of growth and the overall volume of production, we are lagging behind in important things: the excessive demands on labor and materials, the quality of products, the dynamics of scientific-technical progress and its contribution to the growth of labor productivity. This is the basis of our difficulties on the domestic and foreign markets, of breakdowns in supplies of materials and technology and the financial economy of enterprises, of the inefficient use of the

CSSR's material and spiritual potential. There are several reasons for this. Their common denominator is the continuation along the road of extensive development, the impact of braking mechanisms of administrative-command management methods, and a disadvantageous production structure. The causes of deterioration in our economy will be explained in greater detail in the analysis of our socioeconomic development that is now being prepared; it will be discussed by the government and the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and then presented, probably in April, to the Federal Assembly. Its purpose is not only to explain the causes of the present situation, but also to suggest the best methods and ways out of it, and the road toward changing it.

Why do so many conjectures, questions, and sometimes even contradictory views crop up in connection with the restructuring program? Restructuring is, naturally, only a graphic description of the changes that we are undergoing and carrying out. It is always far more difficult to rebuild a house, even one standing on a good foundation and with a firm structure, than to build a new one.

We have a good foundation, but there is also a lot that we have to demolish, and we must remove things that have failed to pass the test of life and truth. We must expand our edifice so we can live more comfortably. Some things are predestined for this, while many others are not. We have people who fear risks, who withdraw in the face of difficulty, who would prefer to live in cramped conditions—either because they find it more convenient, or because they lack confidence in their own strength and ability to build something better. We also cannot agree with those who would like to demolish everything and build something completely different on our green pasture. At first glance, such radicalism may seem attractive. In reality, however, writing off the more than 4 decades of socialist construction would inevitably mean a big step backward, a return to a situation that was overcome a long time ago. That is why we find such a viewpoint unacceptable—there is simply nothing to discuss here.

It Is Essential To Abandon the Beaten Path

We have chosen the socialist road, and experience has shown that we have made the right decision. But if this is the case, then why are we today calling so energetically for radical changes, for necessary reforms? We are advocates and proponents of the revolutionary theory, which demands that we consistently evaluate all our steps and intentions, judging them by their practical results and the strict and inexorable criteria of life. No other criteria are as truthful and just. For instance, 40 years ago we introduced a system of central management and planning, of relations between ministries and enterprises. This system basically corresponded to the existing conditions, the level of knowledge, and usages. Later it increasingly hampered our technical and organizational progress and the people's working and political activity. Not everybody realized in time that these were just temporary, historically conditioned forms of management, and that it was essential to fundamentally change them in the best interests of socialism. The idea of the infallibility of the proclaimed principles was widespread for a long time. The dogmatic view was that management and planning methods, once introduced, express the substance of socialism and cannot be changed. Such a way of thinking caused great damage. But we have learned our lesson from this, and we are now following a different path.

We could mention many examples of how heavily we have to pay for the unwillingness or inability to change deep-seated practices. But it is wrong to indiscriminately accuse everybody who was involved in something or who had signed something in the past, of unwillingness to carry out the restructuring. Even our government has been accused of an unwillingness to carry out reforms. In our policy statement we have formulated the program for accelerating the restructuring of the economic mechanism, for accelerating social changes. Our adversaries at home and abroad needed a long time to recover from their false forecasts and to regain their orientation. We counted on their grasping every opportunity to cast doubt on our intentions. But no difficulties, lack of understanding, slanders, or provocations will make us nervous or discourage us. On the contrary. We want to continue on the road of restructuring, democratization, and deep social transformations which we have chosen with an even greater consistency, offensive spirit, and determination.

We are in favor of a frank, democratic dialogue. We do not think that signature campaigns are the best means for that. We do not deny anyone the right to express his opinion freely—also using this form. However, would not a joint discussion, an open clash of views, seeking bilaterally acceptable standpoints be more suitable? I prefer a means of a dialogue that helps lead to the unification of people for common, creative work. I regard winning over people whom I respect despite differences of opinions to be of crucial importance. The artificial exacerbation of contentious viewpoints through campaigns of foreign radios does not help the cause of restructuring.

We are aware of the fact that people will not judge us by our good intentions, but, above all, by concrete results. Therefore, we, in the government, pay attention to the implementation of what we have decided to do, what we have pledged to do, and what we have promised to do. But that does not depend on our will alone. The decisive role in the implementation of the best of programs is played by people who comprehend them, who identify themselves with them, and who—in their own interest—will make an effort to have them actually implemented. That is why we spend so much time and energy explaining our policy. We are publishing extensive communiques on government discussions, we air many of the the communiques on television, and ministers more often make appearances in the information and propaganda media. And, in the end,

this aktiv, and other aktivs that are planned to be held in other regions, too, attest to the importance we attach to the flow of information to the public. We perceive it to be our duty to make it possible for the citizens to better understand the objectives of the policy of the socialist state and take a more effective part in it and in formulating and reviewing government policy. I often receive letters in which people communicate their views to me—they express their concerns, propose a course of action, and criticize or praise. What I particularly appreciate are frank words. Permit me in this connection to express thanks for the inspiring and sincere standpoints of youth collectives from a number of Slovak enterprises which I received in connection with making speeches on the problems of the young generation. I value them and see in them evidence that young people hold healthy opinions and want to hear the truth.

Comrades, even though there are differing views on the pace and ways of the realization of restructuring, only a few people remain indifferent. This, too, affirms how profoundly it touches upon the interests and needs of the people, to what degree it affects their feelings and emotions. On the basis of my longlasting work in the highest party and state bodies, but also on the basis of my life experience from the economic sphere and the national committees, I am a sincere proponent of the idea of restructuring. I am convinced that this course worked out by the CPSU has international validity and is, also under our conditions, the only realistic vehicle for successful advancement.

Let Us Not Waste Time—Let Us Accelerate the Pace

Despite all this, I have no illusions about the ease and speed with which restructuring can yield fruit. Why? Above all because we have come belatedly with the rectification of shortcomings, with the turnabout in the methods of socialist construction, and in the thinking of the people. The old resources for the growth of the existing organizational form and style of work have already exhausted their potential a long time ago. However, I do not agree with pessimistic views that it is far too late for renewal, for achieving a turn, and for embarking upon the path of dynamic development. In no case can we afford to lose time, we must accelerate our pace, and resolve matters as we go along. We have lost quite a lot, but the opportunity to reverse the unfavorable development lies in our hands.

We cannot wait for restructuring to solve things for us, or expect to sit down at a table full of goodies and enjoy the fruits of someone else's effort. The demand to be informed about what restructuring will bring to individuals and collectives, what they will get out of it, what will change in their place of work, domicile, or family for the better, are understandable. However, we must tell everyone openly that this depends, in the first place, on himself, on his comprehension, effort, and knowledge. The new economic mechanism will make it possible to make better use of education, of the quality of work, inventiveness, and discipline. But it will also bring with itself the need to adapt oneself more flexibly to changed production programs and demands for qualifications.

I would like to express appreciation for the fact that the majority of young people have a good relationship toward the program of revolutionary restructuring. We are glad that they sincerely identify themselves with it and are willing to support it. In this lies the irreversibility and prospects of this course. However, we cannot rely on enthusiasm alone, build on words, assurances, and slogans only. There were so many of them in the past that they often depreciated the great idea. When we speak about socialist renewal, we mean returning the original purpose and real values to all socialist principles. We are against empty moralizing. Revolutionaries took care that words and actions were in full harmony. We support the sincerely meant endeavor of the young people to achieve a high degree of morality in politics and the entire social life. We are united in our opposition to hypocrisy, parasitism, bribery, and empty talk. Without the energetic elimination of such phenomena one cannot create healthy social relations based on sincerity, justice, and trust.

Comrades, the present economic situation causes all of us great concern—beginning with the federal government and ending with the ranking personnel of operations and workshops. In one place one thing bothers us, in another place something else; but practically nowhere are things in an absolute order. We are not promising anyone that we have foolproof recipes for resolving all difficulties immediately. What do we regard as essential? The fact that all our efforts be really forward-oriented and bring about the necessary effect and intellectual satisfaction. The worst thing of all is doing useless work, expending energy uselessly, losing hope of betterment, having no prospects.

Quite a few findings show that such phenomena are also occurring among the youth. We consider this to be a serious sign. A very negative role in this is played by the administratively-directive system of management, by bureaucratism, with its phenomena of stagnation, especially by the widespread practice of egalitarian mediocrity, the lack of opportunity to excel, the slow movement of cadres, the inadequate motivation to perform well, and insufficient incentives to increase one's qualifications. But not only that. At the same time, there is also the continuing orientation toward unilaterally quantitative growth, toward reproduction of the existing production and organizational relations, and of the achieved technical level of production. The lagging behind the fast development of the most advanced countries also has a demoralizing effect.

The complexity of the economic situation has increased our young generation's interest in the future of our state. We realize the exceptional responsibility for the elaboration of the best possible long-term socioeconomic program. A complex prognosis for the CSSR through the year 2000 is currently being worked out. We see the

importance of that document also lying not only in what kind of future our country gives preference to, but also in how well it scientifically substantiates this. We consider the elaboration of a specific course to be of decisive importance—what the highest party and state bodies must do this year, next year, and in the Ninth 5-Year Plan for us to regain one of the leading places in Europe. Traditions and the magnitude of our production and intellectual potential oblige us to set ourselves such a high goal. We know that the road to these objectives will not be easy. However, our opinion is that we cannot offer the up-and-coming generation some sort of program of backwardness by way of tiny steps and cosmetic changes. We are convinced that this plan of ours will meet with the full understanding and support of young people.

We will not ensure a good future for our country and its inhabitants at the turn of the third millenium and in the coming years by taking isolated steps—even if they are of a radical nature. The only chance will be to organically unite our procedure in the following three fundamental directions:

1. To systematically adapt the economic mechanism to new tasks and needs—socioeconomic and cultural needs.
2. To bring the economic structure into harmony with our natural, economic, and social resources as fast as possible, while taking into consideration criteria requiring a high level of effectiveness with regard to the national economy and ecology.
3. To become more extensively and more expediently involved in the international division of labor, in the future socialist common market, by means of purposeful integration with the USSR's economy.

The recent talks of our delegation in Moscow, the signing of the Concept of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the CSSR and the USSR for 15-20 Years and the Agreement on Cooperation in the Sphere of Environmental Protection create favorable prerequisites for this. We agreed that we also must adapt the structures and forms of our economic relations to the new conditions of scientific-technical progress in the world, to the restructuring of economic mechanisms, and to the increased tasks of the enterprise sphere. We have ensured energy resources and other raw materials for the next 5 years, and we have also taken important steps in specialization. There is still much work ahead of us to concretize these agreements and implement them in life. In this we must rely on the support and full understanding of the highest Soviet representatives.

Comrades, even though we are facing very complex tasks when it comes to restructuring the economy and the economic mechanism, the restructuring of our educational system will not be easy either. We are aware that this is politically one of the most sensitive subjects, which concerns almost every family and all aspects of social life. Here, too, a number of very serious phenomena have accumulated, phenomena connected with lagging behind the needs of life, with disorders arising from some decisions having been ill-conceived or from correct plans being put into practice too slowly. At the same time, these are not new problems, but consequences of a long-lasting underestimation of the very role of education in socialist society.

Although the importance of the school, the teachers, and education has been much discussed, the reality has often been different. At the same time, these are not only specific problems of individual types of schools, for example secondary vocational schools, or of textbooks or individual disciplines. What is involved is the overall organization, management, content, and methods of work of the entire educational system and its linkages with other aspects of social life. I do want to talk about these issues in detail. The next session of the CPCZ Central Committee will address them in detail in a few weeks. In many respects, the possibility of solving all other problems depends on successfully mastering this weighty problem. The struggle for Czechoslovakia's place in the competition with the world will take place, above all, in the sphere of education in the next 20 years.

Paying Attention to the Comprehensive Preparation of Young People

Why do we care so much about young people's comprehensive preparation today? A considerable disruption in the natural movement of cadres occurred in the past 20 years. Management structures were not supplemented by young people in time and to a sufficient extent. We must begin to speedily rectify this in the immediate future—especially in connection with the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. We see the ensuring of cadres for party, state, economic, and social bodies and their apparatuses as being the most urgent and most responsible task of all of us who hold leading posts.

We are not interested in rejuvenation alone, but—together with this—in a substantial improvement in the quality of all management components. In no case do we want to continue administrative approaches with regard to young people's representation in various bodies. Formerly, exact quotas used to be set and the resulting percentage did not look bad. However, the real solutions concerning the interests of young people were mostly marginal. This will depend all the more so on the activities of the youth collectives themselves being able to choose those who really are the best representatives, to convince the public about their qualities, and also to help them. That, of course, also applies to the election of young experts to be directors, chairmen, and members of the councils of work collectives.

Comrades, we strive for every young person to know what restructuring demands of him, in what respect it gives him a chance, and what society expects from him at this time. The joint meeting of the federal government and the SSM Central Committee Secretariat, which was held last week, paid attention to those issues. At that meeting we pointed out concrete ways in which youth

collectives could be given the opportunity to create their own economic base for their activities and, with the resources thus acquired, to enrich their hobby activities in the scientific-technical, sports, and cultural spheres, in tourism, and in other fields. We plan to jointly and gradually work out further issues which concern, in particular, increasing the participation of young people in resolving the housing problem, in improving conditions for using their leisure time, strengthening the family, and working out principles for state care for children and youth.

This should not be interpreted as meaning that the government itself will solve young people's and SSM bodies' difficulties for them. We can create certain political, economic, legal, and organizational conditions for this. But the main thing, the decisive thing is up to the young people themselves. There is great strength, a considerable potential of work, political, and social activity in the youth collectives. Mobilizing them will not be easy. The administrative-directive system of managing society has taught, in addition to a blind trust in the omnipotence of papers, a narrowly consumerist approach to life—the mere pursuit and accumulation of things, sometimes more for reasons of prestige than for real needs. Thoughtful young people and young people with drive took this hard, and often condemned it. However, it is also true that for a certain segment of people this was, on the whole, comfortable, and therefore they do not like to part with such times.

We are not succumbing to the illusion that people become proponents of restructuring from their very birth. It is no secret that among young people there also exists a whole range of opinions, and that there is political differentiation in the youth collectives. We are perturbed by many negative phenomena, especially by shortcomings in socialist conviction and patriotic feelings. We are interested in patriotic deeds, not in loud applause at festive meetings. To really love the Republic means to appreciate its successes and take an active part in overcoming its weaknesses. We are striving to intensify love for one's parents and the country of our birth, to have young people regard the CSSR as their fatherland, which they must manage well, to have them multiply its wealth and responsibly participate in the administration of their state, city, or village.

Comrades, in my opening words I addressed only some issues. With regard to selected problems, I tried to demonstrate how it is possible—with the young people's direct participation and interest—to move faster on problems that have been postponed for a long time and that came to fruition a long time ago. I expect that in discussions you will note your experiences from other spheres of social and political practice, about findings from implementing the housing and family policy, about the management of higher institutes of learning, about the relationship of the party bodies and organizations to the SSM's activity, and about the role of the bodies of the National Front and the national committees. I want to thank you for your attention, and I expect that in a comradely and informal dialogue we will clarify what interests us and mutually enrich our findings by useful suggestions.

Stepan Speaks at 'Victorious February' Rally

LD2402161989 Prague Television Service in Czech 1400 GMT 23 Feb 89

["Text" of speech delivered by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, on 23 February at a Prague rally marking the 41st anniversary of "Victorious February"—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens, comrades, and friends. I welcome you, the participants in this large gathering of people. We have gathered here from Prague and the Central Bohemian region in the Old Town Sqaure to jointly mark the 41st anniversary of the February victory of the Czechoslovak working people.

I welcome among us representatives of the CPCZ and other political parties and social organizations associated in the National Front as well as representatives of the federal and Czech governments, the Federal Assembly, and the Czech National Council and national committees. I extend a particularly heartfelt welcome to Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front, who is here among us. [applause] I sincerely welcome Comrade Gustav Husak, president of the Republic. [applause]

We greet with a feeling of gratitute the veterans of the February events, active participants in those turbulent days of 1948. [applause] We greet members of the people's militias and members of the armed services of the National Security Corps and the Czechoslovak People's Army. [applause] They loyally guard the revolutionary legacy of the February victory, and they actively strive to carry through the objectives of the societywide restructuring. We greet workers, cooperative farmers, creative members of the intelligentsia, and workers in culture, schools, the health sector, transportation, trade, and other sectors from the capital city of Prague and the Central Bohemian region. We are glad to welcome to today's rally the young generation of workers and students, who will take over the February baton on the threshold of the new century. They will assume the stewardship of their own country and will continue in the great endeavor that began 41 years ago.

We send greetings from these historical places to our entire homeland, to every honest fellow citizen. We send greetings to the working people of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. We wish them full success in their effort to further develop socialism through revolutionary changes in restructuring.

Comrades, fellow citizens: In February 1948, Klement Gottwald issued a call from here, the Old Town Square, in which he appealed to all good Czechs and Slovaks for unity and cohesion. He called on workers, farmers, the intelligentsia, and all working people to combine their forces to fulfill the revolutionary program of construction. He called on the people of our country to thwart the attempt by reaction to return the liberated homeland to the state of the old capitalism. The people accepted his appeal. Victory was born from the unity of the working people, and the road was taken which leads to the present. In accord with the will of the people in May 1949, our ninth party congress—and this year it is exactly 40 years since then—formulated the 10 points of the general line for building socialism.

Comrades, we are marking the legacy of February and its lasting validity in turbulent times. Our society has been set in motion. Inspired and strengthened by the new political course and example of the CPSU, we are tackling in our Czechoslovak conditions new tasks of revolutionary restructuring and the democratization of society. We are approaching its realization with the awareness of inevitability and responsibility. We are returning to the legacy of February above all because its appeal for the unity of people is again rousing us, and because it teaches us how to awaken on a broad democratic basis, the activity of the people, which we now need most of all. The times we are passing through demand energetic and honest deeds, and proof of sincere patriotism. Restructuring and democratization require, above all, great initiative, confidence in the adopted program, and the needed creative atmosphere of all society.

We characterize the past period of socialist construction as the years that brought many important results in the development of the economy and the life of society. We have increased the material and cultural standard of our people, the growth of their social guarantees. This cannot be denied by any honest man. At the same time, we know that the road that we took was not easy, and that we could have done more. We had both successes and failures, as well as mistakes, and opportunities were also missed. Sometimes there was a feeling of self-satisfaction, and errors were made. We are talking about it all both openly and truthfully. We are doing everything possible to go forward.

The economic and social restructuring program that we have begun enjoys the support of the people. It reinforces their confidence in our socialist tomorrow. We resolutely reject the casting of doubt about it, and demands for the creation of some kind of different program. It is people whose concern is not socialism who promote such demands among the working people. While hiding behind words of agreement with restructuring, they are trying to provoke nervousness and nihilistic moods, which then, in accordance with their divine wishes, would be suitable grounds for anti-February, for the dismantling of socialism. They have longed for it ever since the February 1948 victory of the working people. In order to satisfy their unfulfilled ambitions, they are attempting to take advantage of the new situation in the international political arena, in which positive changes are being achieved mainly due to the initiative of the Soviet Union, and in which new thinking is gaining ground. Designs aimed against the people will not succeed in our country. They failed in February, their path was barred at the end of the sixties, and they will not suceed today, either. [applause]

Comrades, friends: Under the leadership of the CPCZ, a program has been worked out for the further intensive development of the national economy. It is bound up and conditioned to the profound democratization of our society. The sessions of the party central commissions, beginning with the 7th in December 1987 and up to the 12th at the end of last year, gradually worked out this program, set it in concrete, and deepened it. With economic restructuring, we are pursuing the acceleration and the attainment of the new quality in the development of the economy, its intensification, and thereby the creation of the prerequisites for the further growth of people's living standards.

The majority of the workers accepted the program of the intensive development of the national economy. We understand the fact that many expect, as far as possible, immediate results. We must say openly, however, that the way to achieve these is not simple; they will not come of their own accord, and they will all be far from immediate. Restructuring is not a single act of any kind. It is a complicated process, a demanding and revolutionary task. The transition from the present state of society to a new state must become the work of all honest people, without exception. It demands the participation of all of us.

Comrades, in the economic and social area we are today concentrating on concrete progress in economic reform. The new economic mechanism will be put into practice a year earlier than expected. State enterprises are being set up based on the principles of self-financing. Workers collectives in them are also self-managing organs and directors of enterprises. A number of practical problems are being and already have been solved, on both a statewide scale and in individual places. This also concerns our capital city. We are making more decisive approaches to solving problems in ecology, transportation, apartments, and so forth.

By the 18th party congress restructuring should extend, by way of concrete measures, into culture, education, science and research bases, and other areas of our life—that is, the whole superstructure. Restructuring is clearly moving and making progress. We are, however, at the start of a long road. Much must still be solved. This concerns the economy above all. It is necessary to realize that together with economic reform we are also faced with the necessity of fulfilling as well as possible the tasks of the 5-year plan. This is the year that will be decisive in our progress. The 12th CPCZ Central Committee session

emphasized that much must still be done to improve the overall moral climate of society, so that the socialist understanding of social justice becomes the norm everywhere, so that indifference, self-indulgence, egalitarianism, and various forms of parasitism are rooted out, so that honest and good-quality work receives high, and in fact, the highest appreciation. [applause]

Comrades, esteemed fellow citizens: Restructuring is a thing of the people. It is taking place in their interest and for their benefit. Lenin described socialism as the living creativity of the masses. Part of this is also the creative discussion of the masses.

Our political system, the National Front, affiliated political parties, mass organizations and interest groups, and the system of representative bodies make it possible for everyone to take part in the creation, implementation, and checking of the policy from (?honest positions).

We welcome and praise all constructive discussions and dialogues at the platform of socialism in the interests of the people. They must become our daily need, and they are an expression of socialist pluralism. What matters to us is that everyone who cares about socialism, regardless of their age, political affiliation, or religious faith, takes an active part in the joint strength of social restructuring.

Nobody prevents initiative that honestly and sincerely wishes to help advance restructuring. The reinforcement of responsibility, order, and discipline in society and everywhere is rightly considered to be the necessary condition for the application of wide democratism, as is written in the recently published statement of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st anniversary of Victorious February.

In order to attain our aims, we need a creative atmosphere and a democracy in which trust, discipline, and responsibility rule, and which link the right of man with his duties. Only in such a way will it be possible to face everything that delays or threatens restructuring and democratization in reinforcing their future, and to cultivate healthy optimism. [applause]

It cannot be overlooked that in the last few months in particular forces which do not aim at contributing to the advancement of socialist society, to the better and happier life of the working people and their families, have become active. As on a number of occasions in the past, they are again trying, with the help of some political circles in the West and their media, to organize various pressure activities and to create tension in society with the aim of destabilizing things. The political methods of the disruptive forces are demogogy and attempts to manipulate public opinion and honest people.

They are particularly trying to utilize young people's inexperience, and as you yourselves know, they do not even stop at threats, scaremongering, or terrorizing. These are dangerous efforts, and we reject them decisively. They are in fundamental conflict with the people's interests. [applause]

They are in fundamental conflict with the interests of our nations and nationalities, the humanitarian and democratic traditions of our country. The process of restructuring cannot be permitted to be spoiled, and democratization cannot be allowed to be misused to cause unrest, to disrupt public order and the peaceful work and life of the people, as in the way that we witnessed a few weeks ago. [applause]

We are convinced that the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium statement on the 41st anniversary of Victorious February will be supported by the workers of Prague, the Central Bohemian region, and the whole of our country, and that they will reply to it with purposeful activity in the interests of socialism and the happiness of our people. [applause]

Comrades, esteemed fellow citizens: In our efforts to restructure society we are also fully aware of its important international political connection. We appreciate the positive contribution made by our Soviet friends to international relations. We give full support to the new political thinking that is developing the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems as a condition of the survival of humanity. This was concretely expressed in the closing document of the Vienna follow-up meeting. It is contributing to the further widening of possibilities for political dialogue between states in the interests of strengthening confidence and security in the military sphere. It gives prerequisites for deepening cooperation in economics, science, technology, the environment, transportation, and tourism. By signing the document we also expressed agreement with the conclusions of the meeting, touching upon the problems of human rights and humanitarian cooperation. We are determined to continue taking an active part in the processes of securing the peaceful certainties of humanity.

Esteemed fellow citizens, comrades: The program of building a modern, socially and culturally developed society of the 21st century is indivisibly linked with the victorious February of 1948, with its lasting and living legacy. The deep changes this country is undergoing express the revolutionary continuity of the policy of our party since its formation. The national-democratic social liberation of the working man and his all-around development were written into the crest of the CPCZ. The people of our country rightly commended this activity and the stand adopted by the party, and the party became the recognized leader of the people. Under its leadership, and in the firm bond of the National Front, the majority of Czechs, Slovaks, and ethnic minorities are consciously taking part in the building of socialism.

Comrades, esteemed fellow citizens: Our party has begun preparations for its 18th congress. We are convinced that these preparations—in the spirit of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium proclamation marking the 41st anniversary of Victorious February—will become a spur for the development of a broad-based initiative by all working people and all society, and for the fulfillment of the tasks set in the 5-year plan; that these preparations will lead to accelerating the process of restructuring and the further development of Socialist Czechoslovakia, and that they will lead to creative activity.

We will do everything to ensure that we will not lose anyone who wants to share honestly in this great work. The legacy of February is anchored in the course and objectives of social restructuring; it is its fulfillment and development. [applause]

Long live the 41st anniversary of Victorious February! [applause] Long live the Czechoslovak working people! [applause] May our homeland, our home, the CSSR, flourish. [applause] Forward along the path of restructuring and democratization. Not a single step back. [applause]

Leaders Lay Wreath Marking 1948 Anniversary

LD2502155989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] A commemorative ceremony took place today at the National Memorial on Zizkov Hill in Prague to mark the 41st aniversary of the victory of the Czechoslovak working people in February 1948.

A wreath from the party Central Committee, the president of the Republic, the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, the Federal Assembly, and the federal government was laid at the grave of Klement Gottwald, an exceptional representative of the CPCZ and the international communist movement. It was laid by Comrades Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Alois Indra, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, Miroslav Zavadil, Josef Haman, Zdenek Horeni, Marie Kabrhelova, Josef Mevald, Vasil Mohorita, Jindrich Polednik, and Rudolf Rohlicek.

The memory of Klement Gottwald was also honored by leading officials of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czech SR, the Czech National Council, and the Czech Government, representatives of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces, and representatives of party and state organs of the capital city of Prague and the Central Bohemian region.

CPCZ Presidium Views Upcoming CEMA Session

LD2502095389 Prague CTK in English 1505 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 24 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee dealt today with preparations for a meeting of secretaries of Central Committees of the CMEA countries' communist and workers parties for economic questions, due to take place in Prague on March 6-7.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party will be represented at the meeting by Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart and Central Committee department head Zbynek Sojak.

Discussing a report on the reductions of the staff of central bodies, the Presidium noted that this process was carried out last year at a faster pace than expected. Federal central bodies are yet to be reduced in the first half of 1989 by another 1,355 persons.

The Presidium reviewed the results of Premier Ladislav Adamec's visit to the USSR on February 16-18, and of the visit to Bavaria by party Presidium member and Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra on February 16-19.

Vaclav Havel Trial Proceedings Detailed

AU2402182689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Feb 89 p 2

["(WT)"-signed report: "Instigators of the Disturbances Before the Court; the Verdict Against V. Havel: Unconditional Sentence of 9 Months' Imprisonment"]

[Text] Prague (our correspondent)—On Tuesday [21 February] the Prague-3 Municipal District Court announced sentencing for Vaclav Havel, who had been indicted for the criminal act of incitement in accordance with paragraph 164 of the criminal code and for the criminal act of impeding a public official while carrying out his authority in accordance with paragraph 156, Section A of the criminal code.

The prosecution alleged that Vaclav Havel, through the medium of broadcasts by foreign radio stations, the BBC and Radio Free Europe, repeatedly urged the citizens of Prague and other places in the CSSR to ignore the decision of the municipal district national committee (ONV) in Prague-1 prohibiting public gatherings in connection with the so-called commemorative action for Jan Palach.

Several illegal groups prepared this action on Sunday, 15 January, in the center of Prague in Wenceslas Square. We have already informed the public about the events of this day and of several subsequent days. The events, as it later turned out, encouraged individuals trying to spread alarm and fear in our society, and they even threatened terrorist attacks.

As the prosecution outlined, on 9 January Havel appeared on a Radio Free Europe broadcast with the news that he had obtained an anonymous letter claiming to be the statement of a group of students identifying themselves with the activities of the so-called Charter 77. As proof of their support, one of the letter's writers supposedly wanted to set himself on fire in Wenceslas

Square on 15 January. Vaclav Havel, through the medium of Radio Free Europe, called upon the writer to abandon his contemplated act, but at the same time he appealed to the organs of state power to act "sensibly" and not to frustrate the "pious act" with a demonstration of police power. That same day in a BBC broadcast he termed the decision by the ONV in Prague 1 as being "unlawful, senseless, and impossible to respect, for this would mean agreeing to wrongdoing." The next day, again in a BBC broadcast, he stated that the pious act will "quite definitely take place", that it is unclear how the national committee and the police will challenge it, and that "the fact that it will take place is irreversible."

Similarly, the accused took part in other foreign radio broadcasts. As the prosecution stated, the consequences of these appearances stimulated the rioting of a larger number of people.

The accused, Havel, by his repeated appearances on foreign radio stations publicly exhorted listeners in the CSSR to civil disobedience by disregarding and ignoring the decision of a state organ issued according to the law. Concretely, the matter refers to Law No 126/1968 on certain temporary measures for strengthening public order which gives the ONV the authority to prohibit a public gathering if it is taking place against the law, if it is directed against socialist order, or if it otherwise endangers public order. Linked with the aforementioned law is the edict by the Prague National Committee which, among other things, limits the right to hold public gatherings in Prague's historic area to organs of the National Front and organizations affiliated with the National Front for extraordinary and celebratory occasions. According to this edict, holding other public gatherings here is prohibited.

The defense of the accused—resting, among other things, on the fact that the gathering was intended as a pious act and never as a public demonstration—did not stand up in court. Similarly, the defense had no success with its objections that the appearances on foreign radio stations could not influence the participation of persons in the unauthorized gathering in Wenceslas Square.

Havel was further accused of, on 16 January, on the 2d day of unrest in Wenceslas Square, personally taking part in an unauthorized gathering and remaining there even following appeals by police order-enforcement units to clear the area. The accused ignored the repeated appeals. The court also recognized this portion of the prosecution's case as evidence on the basis of statements by witnesses and documentary material.

The court proceedings, which lasted almost an entire day, took place in harmony with the CSSR legal code, and the participating sides fully utilized the rights that the legal code affords them. However, Havel used his concluding speech for a defense of illegal groups and to attack state organs.

The Prague-3 Municipal District Court found V. Havel guilty on both counts of the indictment. It sentenced him to a total unconditional sentence of 9 months' imprisonment for the aforementioned criminal acts. In view of the fact that over the past 10 years the accused, prior to committing these criminal acts, had previously been serving a sentence, he was thus ordered to serve his sentence in the second corrective-educational group, in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the legal code. The accused appealed against the verdict.

As was to be expected, the Western news media showed increased interest in the course of the court proceedings, which they beforehand made certain was advertised as a "political trial." Also, during the day, several dozen people on the steps of the court building sought to pressure the court organs by chanting slogans demanding, in particular, the release of V. Havel.

Rights Representatives Meet Western Counterparts

AU2702152889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Feb 89 p 2

[CTK report: "An Exchange of Experiences on Human Rights"]

[Text] Prague—On Tuesday [21 February] evening in Prague a meeting took place between representatives of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation and representatives of the Helsinki committees of four European countries and the United States.

A mutual exchange of experiences and opinions on the realization of the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting concerning the problems of human rights and humanitarian questions took place. At the discussion questions of the rights of the persons who are being prosecuted in connection with the January events in Prague were also discussed.

Kessler Addresses Attaches on Army Anniversary

LD0103002489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1820 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The founding vow of the GDR and the guiding thought for the creation of the National People's Army [NVA] was to do everything for the maintenance and development of peace and goodneighborliness within the European family of nations, GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, reasserted today during a reception for military and defense attaches accredited to the GDR on the occasion of the 33d NVA anniversary.

The latest peace initiatives by the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states were described by Heinz Kessler as important prior concessions for comprehensive disarmament. The world public and the public of the GDR, too, expects similar signs of goodwill by NATO. "The process of disarmament and detente requires positive input from both sides if it is to be lasting."

The minister gave an assurance that the NVA is deeply conscious of its particular responsibility for the maintenance of peace and international security in Europe. Pointing to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR this year and the unleashing of two world wars—with fateful consequences for the peoples—75 and 50 years ago, respectively, with their anniversaries falling in 1989, Kessler stressed that since the smashing of fascism the firm will has been repeatedly announced that never again will war emanate from German soil.

Party College Panel Discusses Social Strategy

AU1502184789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The Scientific Council of the "Karl Marx" Party College of the SED Central Committee held a meeting on Monday [13 February], to discuss the subject "Objective Laws and Conscious Action in the Implementation of the SED's Social Strategy." The introductory paper was read by Professor Heinrich Opitz, director of the Scientific Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the Party College. Based on an analysis of social development in the GDR since the Eighth SED Congress in 1971, he expounded on the way we have been able to shape economic and social progress as a uniform process in these almost 2 decades.

In doing so, he mentioned in particular the development of a scientifically founded social strategy and its inclusion in the party program. He said that the profound understanding of the objective economic laws of socialism and the conditions on which they work in the GDR has proved to be a crucial problem. He stressed that in socialism, economic and social policy must constitute an inseparable whole, because it is on this very basis that a decisive impetus is growing for increasing social activity, for increasing the individual's preparedness to upgrade performance, for more education and higher individual responsibility.

During the discussion, social scientists and party officials from enterprises and combines gave reports on their experiences with regard to effective and realistic mass political work that is oriented toward the solution of collective tasks concerning the whole of society. Dr Klaus Gaebler, director of the SED Central Committee Propaganda Department, outlined the challenge posed for the development of aggressive, ideologically founded, and convincing spiritual-ideological work in the 40th year of the GDR's existence.

Professor Kurt Tiedke, rector of the Party College, stressed that it is not wishful thinking which determines the course of history, but the working masses' action which is based on the profound perception of the nature of our epoch and the laws of social developments. He said that, therefore, answering the questions of our time clearly and grasping the complexity of all-social processes more profoundly are the essential tasks of sociological work today.

Meritorious Artists, Security Forces Honored

AU1602171589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers has awarded the 1989 Theodor Koerner Prize to artists and cultural workers, as well as members of the National People's Army, the GDR border troops, and the other defense and security forces. At a meeting in Berlin on Tuesday [14 February], tribute was paid in this way to outstanding artistic and cultural-political achievements.

Among those receiving awards were concert pianist Annerose Schmidt; chief lieutenant Yevgeniy Tytyanko, head of the song and dance ensemble of the Soviet Armed Forces deployed in the GDR; Horst Noack, stage director and singer; Karl Georg Egel, Horst Seemann, Margit Schaumaeker, Heinz Ruesch, Detlef Tetzke, and Werner Wueste, all employed in the film industry; a designer collective of the "Traffic Compass" short film series; a collective of artists and members of the orchestra of the "Feliks Dzierzynski" guard regiment; meritorious directors of military orchestras, as well as librarians of the National People's Army and the GDR border troops.

Lieutenant-General Ernst Hampf, deputy chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army, who presented the awards, conveyed the congratulations of the Minister of National Defense, the Minister of State Security, and the Minister of the Interior. He emphasized the work of artists and cultural workers in the sense of further shaping the developed socialist society as well as protecting the revolutionary achievements and ensuring peace. Annerose Schmidt expressed the thanks of those who received the awards.

Grosz Meets Baranya County Germans, Slavs

LD2502044589 Budapest MTI in English 2311 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, arrived in Pecs on Thursday [23 February] evening to begin a two-day visit to Baranya County. Mr Grosz was met by the party and state leaders of the county. On behalf of the students of Janus Pannonius University, third-year economics student Imre Szabo forwarded an invitation to Mr Grosz for a personal meeting at a later date, proposed by students from the faculties of law, economics and teacher training, at which they would like to hold discussions with the general secretary about issues related to higher education.

Mr Grosz then visited the Southern Slav Club in Pecs, and met representatives of the German and southern Slav minorities living in Baranya County. Jozsef Baling, president of the Baranya Organization of the Democratic Federation of Germans in Hungary, said that more than 50,000 people of German descent live in the county, and the development of education in the mother language is necessary for their existence as a minority. Lorinc Kerner, vice- president of the federation and president of the Nikolaus Lenau Union founded in Pecs, said they wish to inaugurate Lenau House this year, which will serve as the intellectual and cultural centre of the German minority of Pecs, in the presence of the FRG chancellor. The FRG provided support for the construction of the building.

Gyorgy Frankovics, secretary of the Transdanubian Territorial Committee of the Democratic Federation of Southern Slavs in Hungary, encouraged the creation of a school network that promotes the establishment of bilingualism, and proposed that the participation of the concerned groups of people be requested in the course of creating the law on minorities. Milan Ruzsin, vice-president of the territorial committee, stressed that support of the minorities should be raised to the rank of an all-social affair.

Mr Grosz expressed his appreciation to the representatives of the Germans and southern Slavs of Baranya County for their efforts in safeguarding their culture and language. He said that under the political recognition reached in the past years, the principles and practice of minority policy should also be reformed to develop socialism: This was a national interest. He stressed, "our voice raised on behalf of the Hungarians living beyond our borders can be authenticated if we do everything possible within our borders to support the safeguarding of minority values, culture and identity".

Talks With Mecsek Coal Miners

LD2502045289 Budapest MTI in English 1427 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—On Friday [24 February] Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, continued his two-day tour of Baranya County by visiting the Mecsek collieries. During a conversation with miners, Mr Grosz stressed that the economic stabilization scheme could be implemented by the early 1990's, while economic restructuring might take 1.5-2 decades. He pointed out that updating the rigid economic structure occasionally requires a change in not only work but also in places of work, and the declining demand for coal also has to be noted. He requested the Mecsek miners to continue to indicate their problems, but asked them to understand that in future the party cannot take over the duties of the state.

Following Karoly Grosz held a discussion with the economic and political leaders of the Mecsek collieries and Mecsek ore mining company on the position of the two companies and possibilities for solving their problems.

Fejti Addresses Central Committee on Constitution

AU2702141389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report on speech by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti at the 20 February session of the MSZMP Central Committee: "Gyorgy Fejti: We Should Give Broad Publicity to the Preparation of the New Constitution"]

[Text] In the introduction of his speech explaining the constitution concept submitted in writing to the members of the Central Committee, Gyorgy Fejti stressed that we have arrived at the threshold of an important phase in preparing our constitution.

"The regulatory concept of the new constitution was worked out following the long, responsible, and thorough professional and scientific activity of preparations, in accordance with our intentions," Fejti said. He then noted one of the great dilemmas of the legislative activity, the relations and harmony between the Constitution as a whole and its constituent parts.

"In the present phase of this activity, we have already had to ensure the internal consistency and connections of this concept as a whole, while the level of the preparation of various details is not uniform. In other words, in this phase of our work we first had to set out the details from the whole, and only then, in the next phase, will we have to adjust and rewrite the text of the Constitution from more meticulously prepared details. This also means that in the future phases of this activity, we will have to return to a series of issues by making them independent issues on the agenda."

Enduring Basic Principles

"The question arises whether it is possible, so to speak, to engage in drafting a constitution in the current changing domestic policy situation that is full of contradictions. Is there not a danger of setting the slightly chaotic

domestic policy relations into a constitutional framework and thus hindering the further development of political reforms? Besides, is it today at all possible to create a stable constitution, namely a long-term basic law, or to set such a goal?

"Obviously, the current situation is not ideal for drafting a constitution. However, I think that the dangers and traps I have mentioned can be avoided if we really incorporate lasting principles, progressive constitutional efforts, and stable values into our constitution. In places where it is necessary and possible, the new constitution can remain sufficiently open and can leave the door open to any rational and organic developments which are in harmony with these basic principles. Thus, in accordance with our intentions, this new constitution could be a long-term source of legislation. Only time can tell whether this will really be able to fulfill this role.

"The next question I would like to note is the relation of this constitution to Hungarian and international, mainly European, constitutional development. I have to point out that, to a certain extent, our 1949 Constitution broke with the traditions of the 1,000-year-old Hungarian statehood and, mainly, of the development of Hungarian constitutional law, as well as with a series of basic principles and theses of bourgeois constitutional law which had stood the test of time. Our proposal is that we should put an end to this break.

"Therefore, this basic concept relies on the values of Hungarian legal history and the state organization—for instance, the role of statehood in our nation's survival and the basic principle of self-government. It also relies on the progressive factors of bourgeois constitutional law. For example, in drawing up the concept of state organization, this concept consistently contains the extremely important principle of power-sharing. In also drawing upon these traditions, it gives much more scope than previously to human rights, the rights of citizens, and to the right to freedom."

Views and Dangers

"We would like to succeed in having the 1,000 years of Hungarian statehood and legal continuity reflected mainly in the preamble. At the same time, we have to take a stand against the danger of a new type of discontinuity. Views are currently in circulation which want to break with the period after 1948-49, and which urge the elimination of this period. This is completely unacceptable, both politically and historically. I would like to mention here a concern that has emerged only in a narrow circle, but which is still worth noting, namely a concern over the danger of a silent bourgeois restoration during the preparation of this new constitution. I do not fear such a danger, although obviously there are views whereby socialism, so to speak, has no legal substance. That this concept therefore should not be included in the new economic and political order is some sort of an antique Stalinist concept which should also be left out of the drafting of the new constitution.

"We can and should argue with these views. We must make it clear that the new constitution should clearly define Hungary as a free, democratic, and socialist state. The relevant principles and basic values can be summed up in the chapter dealing with our social, political, and economic order. I must point out, perhaps even with self-criticism, that this chapter currently is not the strongest part of this constitutional concept. However, the legislators are not so much to blame for this as are the political science and ideology, for the thorough formulation of these basic values that represent socialism for us still has to be carried out. At the same time, we should avoid another almost extremist demand—namely, that the constitution should provide some sort of normative formulation of the concept of socialism. Obviously, we can and should include only basic values such as the decisive role of public property, social justice in distribution, reducing differences in opportunities, or social solidarity. We should make sure that this constitution represents a democratic institutional structure based on direct and representational democracy and on the principle of self-governance, and that it includes a complete and expressed catalog of human and citizens' rights. Therefore, the constitution as a whole should make clear the character of socialist development and should not provide a definition of socialism within a determined block."

Drafting the Constitution Should Be a Consensus

"The question arises: Whose competence is it to prepare the new constitution? Is this activity to become a stage of confrontation, or are there possibilities for this activity to become a means of agreement and consensus? I think that we should make it absolutely clear that the highest trustee of the people's sovereignty, the National Assembly, has the authority to draft a constitution. We should distance ourselves from efforts that question the legitimacy and competence of parliment and of the relevant government bodies. In other words, the current parliament should debate and approve the draft constitution, if this draft can be worked out in this parliamentary sitting. At the same time, it would be important, and the Central Committee proposes this, to have the final text of the constitution confirmed by a referendum.

"However, it is obvious that since the 1985 parliamentary elections, a series of political movements have emerged in the country which today do not have full parliamentary representation. I think that it would be a mistake to leave any existing group with a social basis out of the preparation of the new constitution. Therefore, there should be very firm efforts to make the current text of the draft constitution and the later codified text available to the broadest possible circle of people, in the strictest sense of the word, to every citizen, and to various groupings of citizens. We must find the institutional channels through which opinions formulated in society make their way to

the committees and bodies dealing with the Constitution. With this, I wanted to say that we propose to carry out the preparation of the constitution with the greatest openness and the broadest publicity possible. The idea is to publish the full text of the regulatory concept in MAGYAR HIRLAP prior to the National Assembly meeting. This would be followed by a broad debate. No group or citizen should be excluded from this work. However, we should reject the demand of any group to speak on behalf of the entire society, for parliament should discuss such a document on behalf of society. Taking everything into consideration, it is hoped that the drafting of the constitution will also include an opportunity to create a general understanding, a consensus. However, it is also clear that we have to prepare for extremely tough political debates during the preparation of the constitution, and we also have to prepare the party organizations for this. Therefore, we are making use of the proposal to publish the basic regulatory concept in ALAPSZERVEZETI TAJEKOZTATO [information booklet of the basic party organizations] and to prepare the party aktiv for active participation in drafting the new constitution.

"The drafting of the new constitution promises to be rather time-consuming. Haste, confusion, and possible forced decisions in our activity would cause great trouble. The drafting of a constitution should be done only in a calm way and with great care. Therefore, it is not advisable to draw up a final deadline for the preparation of a constitution. The concept and the draft law will be ready when a consensus as a whole can be reached. The draft constitution can then be submitted to parliament."

Our Proposal: A People's Republic

Gyorgy Fejti then provided an oral supplement to some chapters of the Constitution. First, he made some observations on the chapter dealing with the social, political, and economic order.

"In this chapter, we considered it necessary to include some extremely important basic principles. We think that the principle of the people's sovereignty should be stipulated as a basic principle of the origin of the state's power—namely, that the people are the exclusive source and holders of all power, and that the people exercise this power directly, for example through the institution of a referendum or through people's initiatives, and also by means of the state organization. It is justified to include the principle of the division of power sectors as a principle of exercising the state power. According to this, the various branches of power—such as the National Assembly, the president of the Republic, the Council of Ministers, the executive power of public administration, the Constitutional Court, the court organization, and the local self-government bodies—all represent separate independent branches of power with well-defined tasks that are delimited much more precisely than previously. They also function as mutual limitations. However, for these branches to be implemented, we also have to declare another important basic principle, namely the principle of preventing authority from being taken from the various branches of power. The part of this chapter which deals with state-society relations contains extremely important principles. We considered it advisable to declare the following to be a fundamental principle here: The right of the members of the society to develop self-government should not be limited. Equal rights are also an element of decisive importance, and this includes equality before the law, a ban on favorable and disadvantageous discrimination, as well as the principle of sectoral neutrality with respect to forms of property. We also considered it justified to declare that the goal of society and the task of the state is to reduce differences in opportunities and that, for this, the state should devote special attention to supporting disadvantaged social groups and persons, and to developing backward areas.

"Finally, here we have to point out the principle of proper legislation, namely that both the state and the citizens are forbidden to abuse the law. Everyone can exercise his rights only while guaranteeing the harmony between social and individual rights. Determining the form of government will be a very important element in this chapter. During the preparatory activity, we came to the conclusion that there was no better formulation than the People's Republic. The argument that, from merely political legal considerations, it would be enough to stipulate that our form of government is a republic, and not, say, a kingdom, is not convincing enough. The expression people's republic represents extremely important and real values in Hungary. Therefore, eliminating this formulation would be particularly unjustified at a time when we want to raise the principle of people's sovereignty to its proper place. It would also be unjustified to use new formulations to describe the notion of republic, because the adjectives that emerged during the preparation activity—democratic republic, people's democratic republic, or socialist republic—would not describe the current real state of our society precisely enough. Therefore, we propose to use the form of government stipulated in our 1949 Constitution, the People's Republic, and include it in our new constitution.

"The constitutional definition of the political order and of the parties will be a politically important and sensitive part of this chapter. We are of the opinion that it is not the task of the Constitution to define the multiparty system. At the same time, the Constitution should provide a framework for developments toward a multiparty system. We have submitted a draft text in accordance with this."

The Role of Public Property

"An important deviation from the 1949 Constitution is that we do not consider it necessary or sensible to include a constitutional formulation on the leading role of the MSZMP. Of course, this does not mean that the MSZMP renounces its political efforts and intention to

remain the determining factor of social processes. However, the MSZMP wants to guarantee this role through its political program, political activity, and by winning society over, instead of through legal formulas. However, in defense of society, it is expedient to stipulate that only social organizations, including parties, whose goals, programs, and activity are in harmony with the values and efforts formulated in the Constitution, can function in Hungary.

"A serious debate is expected to emerge over the constitutional formulation of issues related to property relations. We propose that the constitution recognize public and individual property as equal forms of property, with the condition that they should be open to each other and that various combinations should emerge, as made possible by the law on economic associations. At the same time, the constitution should also state that society and the economy are based on the domination of public property. An excessively detailed analysis of various forms of property would not be expedient. It is worth considering, and the current concept proposes this for approval, that state property and cooperative property, as two important forms of property, should be noted in the constitution.

"Another large chapter of the Constitution deals with human and citizens' rights and with fundamental obligations.

"The debates to date have clearly confirmed that this chapter, which is accepted by Hungary and which is in complete harmony with our international obligations, deals with human rights and citizens' rights in a modern way. This chapter provides a complete list of these rights. It is the task of the codification activity to formulate the substance of these rights, which must be done later."

One-Chamber or Two-Chamber Parliament?

"In connection with the separation of the branches of power, I have already mentioned that here we should strive to determine the most precise goals and tasks possible. The first among these tasks is to determine the role and function of parliament. It is clearly in our interest to have a strong National Assembly in Hungary which embodies genuine power, but which does not carry out government tasks. The draft constitution tries to precisely outline the authority of parliament.

"An open question in the current phase of preparatory activity is whether to have a one-chamber or a two-chamber parliament. So far, more arguments have been made in favor of maintaining a one-chamber parliament. However, there are also some other arguments that favor considering the possibility of a second chamber. Therefore, it is not yet advisable to drop this issue from the agenda of the preparations. We think we should guarantee the dominance of political representations in the first chamber of parliament, and that this chamber should be made the broadest possible arena of all-national interests. At the same time, it is still worth considering how to assert certain views of interest representation in the framework of a second chamber, and thus, perhaps include this interest representation in the decisionmaking process.

"The form and technique of electing deputies is still an open question. Therefore, we have laid down only the basic concept of the most general principles of this issue. I would also like to mention here the fact that we will have to review in the framework of a separate issue on the agenda which election techniques are necessary for a steady, gradual, and predictable transition, techniques with which we can come closer to the new forms of exercising power in the new situation following the latest Central Committee meeting. This is a situation that enables the presence of several parties and their participation in elections. An exclusively competitive solution is not advisable today, nor is a solution based on exclusively preliminary agreements. We will have to find a combination of these two forms.

"We have great interest in the potential of a firm, consistent, and predictable government. A more detailed and clear stipulation of the government's tasks than previously, the confirmation of the premier's status and his authority to make personal decisions, and more detailed regulations than previously concerning the relationship between the ministers' decisions and their responsibility, all serve this goal."

On the Presidential System

"We propose to replace the current form of a collective head of state with the presidential system. We think of this as a guarantee of sharing power and of creating a better balance between the various branches of power. We still have to decide which of the two classical forms should be closer to our presidential form, the protocol-type presidential system or one of strong presidential authority. During the preparatory activity, we concluded that it would be desirable to choose and define the most suitable solution, which lies somewhere between the two extreme solutions. At the same time, it seems proper to create this institution prior to the next parliamentary elections.

"You can also find another two new institutions in this concept: the constitutional court—which the National Assembly has already adopted with the modification of the Constitution—and the state audit office. The role of the latter would be to supervise, as an institution independent of the executive power, the state budget, including the budget of the government and of the ministries, and the use of budget allocations for community, social, and other purposes. This would eliminate the current anomaly in which the government and the Finance Ministry supervise themselves in budget matters. We propose to establish the state audit office following the approval of the new constitution.

"The constitutional concept deals in detail with the administration of justice. There is great emphasis on the independence of judges, which we consider to be an issue of fundamental importance. However, the question will arise whether the judges' independence is compatible with party affiliation. International practice in this respect varies considerably. In many countries, the office of a court judge is not incompatible with party affiliation. We think that one should separate the practice of administering justice from one's private life. In the course of administering justice, a judge is obviously subordinated exclusively to the law. However, this does not make it impossible for him to belong, in his private life, to parties and organizations—that is, to engage in politics.

"In connection with the future role of the public prosecutor's office, the current concept contains several ideas. In my view, the report objectively lists the advantages and disadvantages of these ideas. I think that this is not a question that a broad social debate can evaluate and decide; this is basically a professional issue. However, we should certainly draw attention to one thing: Both the position of a judge and the organization of the public prosecutor's office can be modified only according to a schedule that does not disturb the operation of these institution in such a politically difficult period, one full of destabilizing elements."

Our National Symbols

In conclusion, Gyorgy Fejti spoke about our national symbols.

"We want the constitution as a whole to stipulate our national symbols. I think that there will be particularly emotional debates on this issue.

"Some of these debates have already started, like the debate on the official coat-of-arms of the Hungarian People's Republic. It is still too early to conclude these debates, but it would also be wrong to make the debate on state symbols dominate the debate on the new constitution. In connection with the state coat-of-arms, we essentially have to decide whether or not to keep our current coat-of-arms. If not, we will have to decide whether to propose a new coat-of-arms or to use one of our previous, traditional coats-of-arms.

"We expect the current session of the Central Committee to hold a general debate on this concept, because you received this comprehensive document concerning a lot of important issues for the first reading," Fejti said in conclusion. He then asked the body to extend the mandate of the working committee in charge of coordinating the legislative activity, a committee made up of Central Committee members, and to entrust this committee with the further coordination of activity, including the application of the lessons of today's debate.

Fejti Discusses Military's Role in Politics

LD2502044189 Budapest MTI in English 2149 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI)—"The HSWP is firmly against the Armed Forces' and bodies' being subjected to the fluctuations of daily politics...attacks against the Armed Forces and bodies should be rejected. The sober majority of society also shares this view," stressed Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, at a meeting of representatives of the garrison troops and military organizations of Szekesfehervar on Thursday [23 February].

Discussing the future of the Army, Mr Fejti stressed that the changes that have taken place in international politics, military policy and military doctrines should be taken into consideration for the developments. "We are keen to see the success and earliest possible realization of the new international way of thinking and military philosophy highlighted by the name of Mr Gorbachev. Therefore, we shall also be more active in our military diplomatic activity," Mr Fejti stressed.

Szabo Addresses Agricultural Cooperative Congress

LD2402213489 Budapest MTI in English 1403 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—The two-day special conference of agricultural production cooperatives has started in Budapest on Friday [24 February]. The discussion was attended by Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food.

In his opening address, Janos Eleki, general secretary of the National Council of Agricultural Production Cooperatives (TOT), pointed out that the discussion was convened to urge the public opinion of cooperatives to tackle the problems apparent in the economy and the movement itself, and talk about the renewal of corporate work.

Istvan Szabo, member of the HSWP Political Committee and charman of TOT, delivered the keynote address. He noted that the situation of cooperative farms has been steadily declining over the past one and a half decades, and gave a brief analysis of the causes. He said that up to the 1968 reform, the agrarian policy of the HSWP was for the most part charged with ideology, and followed the obsolete Soviet kolkhoz pattern. Collectivization was pushed "from the top" with a political decision overstating the possibilities inherent in large-scale production, and pressed for the combination and merging of cooperatives. There was a simultaneous drainage of the market forces from the economy, with monopolies overwhelming agricultural producers, and an artificial distortive price system slowing free economic processes.

On the level of ideas, the 30-year history of our agrarian policy was dominated by the struggle between dogmatic ideology and competency fostered by reform ideals. The latter eliminated direct plan orders, introduced financial incentive, declared the equality of cooperative farms and state companies before the law, and also allowed for different forms of ownership. The impetus lasted up to the mid-1980s, when development stopped, the sale security of producers diminished, resources of credit dwindled and financial troubles became lasting.

There is a pressing need for a new and radical agrarian policy.

Mr Szabo said that in the opinion of the cooperative movement the desired agrarian policy should regard the market as a main organizing force of economy, where strict bans exclude the possibility of monopoly situations and dictated prices.

He disputed views giving exclusive priority to small-scale plants and private ventures, and stated that the large-scale farm model is irreversible in a decisive part of cooperative agriculture, but alternatives are possible in areas where farmers are interested in choosing other forms. Mr Szabo stressed that no new drive of land distribution and revolutionary rearrangement of property seem to be a realistic chance in today's Hungary. As citizens and cooperative members, we are interested in conditions which allow for handling land as part of property and is also transferable.

Mr Szabo said that TOT has recently been sharply criticized for its activity as a body of interest representation. While admitting criticism as justified, he said that even a newly formed agricultural chamber would find it difficult to successfully cooperate with the present organizations, and the TOT should be renewed.

French Official Laurent Fabius Begins Visit

Received by Grosz

LD2502045789 Budapest MTI in English
1933 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI)—On Thursday [23 February] in Budapest, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], met Laurent Fabius, president of the French National Assembly, who arrived in Budapest on Thursday at the head of a parliamentary delegation.

The HSWP general secretary and the French politician greeted each other as old acquaintances, and recalled their last meeting in Paris. They welcomed the fact that, as a continuation of the Hungarian-French high-level dialogue, this visit of the president of the French parliament could come about.

Mr Grosz reported on the reform that has begun in economic, political and ideological life. He stressed that the new constitution, the preparation of the party law, and the establishment of democratic, self-governmental institutions serve to create a modern, efficient socialist society. In this work, the HSWP counts on the creative participation of all strata of society and on common thinking and actions.

M Fabius said that the historic Hungarian changes were followed with major interest and sympathy in France. He wished every success to the HSWP general secretary in the continuation of the political and economic reform, and in increasing the performance of the Hungarian economy. The stable democratic development of the contemporary Hungary was the interest of both the French and the Hungarians.

Mr Grosz and M Fabius said the diverse development of Hungarian-French relations, which could lay the foundations for a new tradition in the foreign policy of both countries, was very important. Mr Grosz reconfirmed that, "in accordance with our earlier invitation, we would be delighted to welcome President Mitterrand to Hungary."

The proposals put forward by the Hungarian side—exploring new possibilities for relations, intensifying the interestedness of Hungarian and French companies, expanding human relations, and developing cooperation in culture and language education—were welcomed by M Fabius, who said they would be assured of his support.

Also present at the cordial meeting was Christine Malitchanko, ambassador of the French Republic to Hungary.

Meets Stadinger, Pozsgay, Szuros

LD2502050289 Budapest MTI in English
2032 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI)—Following his visit to HSWP Headquarters and his talks with General Secretary Karoly Grosz, Laurent Fabius, president of the French National Assembly, visited the Hungarian parliament. He met Istvan Stadinger, president of the Hungarian National Assembly, and several MPs.

At the talks, Mr Stadinger stressed that relations between the two parliaments were lively, although this was the first time a president of the French National Assembly has visited Hungary. Mr Stadinger discussed the activity of Hungarian legislation and the efforts aimed at creating a democratic political system. He was of the view that elections would be held in Hungary in 1990 essentially under a multi-party system democracy. M Fabius detailed the structure of French legislation.

In the afternoon, the French delegation met Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, who dealt with a lot of questions. Discussing the domestic situation, Mr Pozsgay said that the reforms were forced out by a crisis situation. The aim

was to create a genuine multi-party system and a genuine democracy. Mr Pozsgay said that, at present, the HSWP was striving for agreement with the new political organizations, and was of the opinion that a fully competitive situation would characterize the 1995 elections. The minister of state promised his support to the demand that the newly-emerging parties be ensured the 'infrastructural' conditions necessary for their operation, which should be accompanied by proportionate financial support. Mr Pozsgay also said that bureaucracy was still holding back the process of democratization to a large extent. However, in his view, the party's reform wing had a chance to reach agreement with the various organizations.

M Fabius and his party then met Istvan Sarlos, vice-president of the Presidential Council. The talks included the plan of bringing in the function of president of the Republic instead of the present collective head of state body.

In parliament, the French delegation met Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly. M Fabius asked about the foreign policy questions of most interest to him and the French delegation. These were Hungary's relations with Romania, the changes in the Soviet Union, the establishment of relations with South Korea, and European cooperation.

Mr Szuros said, "We don't have problems with Romania, but rather with the Romanian policy which wishes to create a homogeneous nation-state and which has raised nationalism to an official level". He also referred to the fact that understanding of the Hungarian position was, in general, growing among the socialist countries.

The Hungarian-Soviet relation was being clarified, Mr Szuros said. He recalled the period when Hungary, although heading the reform way of thinking, had to look back at times to see that it had not broken away too much from the allies. Now, however, Gorbachev's Soviet Union, and China, which is also undergoing transformation, provides a good background for Hungary. It can be attributed to this that there is no anti-Soviet mood in Hungary, or, if this does exist, then it is powerfully declining. At the same time, Mr Szuros also made it quite clear that Hungary strives to update the cooperation structure of the CMEA countries.

This question led to the theme of European cooperation. "We strive for balanced relations with East and West alike", Mr Szuros said, emphasizing that Hungary was ready to join the European Council. "We would also like it if, after the creation of the full internal unity of the Common Market planned for 1992, the European Community would not become an impregnable fortress to Hungary", he said. He noted that the two most important features of current Hungarian foreign policy were the emphasis on the national character and opening up. The establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea formed a part of the natural process of opening, and the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel will fit into this same process. The latter can be expected within a matter of months if everything goes to plan, Mr Szuros said.

Retired General on Army's View of 1956 Events

LD2402160789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] The Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society also has held a friendly meeting on the occasion [not further specified]. Laszlo Abel, retired border guard brigadier general and member of the National Council, was interviewed by Henrik Havas.

[Begin recording] [Havas] Has this meeting today been purely one of protocol, or did you also discuss actual political issues?

[Abel] The festive greeting itself contained such thoughts.

[Havas] How does an army that is currently rescuing itself—that is, disarming—celebrate?

[Abel] Such a role, such a celebration is the eternal inner desire of every soldier, meaning if it is possible that the use of arms should not occur. And today unambiguous hope lives in all of us that in the next millenium it will be possible to do away once and for all with the danger of a world war, with the devastation of a world war, so that armies will exist only to the extent necessary to ensure peace.

[Havas] You are no longer on active duty; you are a retired general, so that is why I dare to ask this. Can we face the question or the fact that groups of officers might exist in either the Red Army or in the Hungarian People's Army which—precisely on the basis of existential considerations, or even political considerations—will resist the trend toward disarmament?

[Abel] It is my conviction—taking myself, too, as a point of departure—that such groups do not exist. Ensuring peace is the raison d'etre of our entire existence, and if it is possible to ensure this by means other than arms—such as interstate treaties—then it is, of course, the most natural thing in the world for everyone of us to return to the civil occupation for which we all were prepared, along with our expert military skills.

[Havas] You are a member of the National Council of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society. You are a retired general. Do you discuss—and if you do, in what sense—the fact that certain historical events are appearing in a different light; for example, the 1956 intervention [beavatkozasa] by Soviet troops and their action [akcioya] in Hungary? How could this influence direct relations?

[Abel] To take individual cases of the use of the Army out of context is a transgression [vetek], and that is impermissible. I myself did armed service in 1956, and I cooperated with our Soviet friends before and after the 23d as well as after 4 November. As for the step taken by the Soviet troops in support of the Hungarian Government, which asked for help—here I have in mind the Imre Nagy government, and then the government led by Janos Kadar—to avoid a fratricidal war. I found nothing to which I would take exception. If I were to seek any kind of issue in this to which I would take exception, then it would be necessary to question our very existence and in general the steps we took to safeguard the calm of the nation. That would be completely absurd.

[Havas] What is your view of the possibility that surfaced recently that the Armed Forces would be depoliticized—that is, that their political character would be removed or, to put it very directly, that they would be deprived of party direction?

[Abel] Presently, the MSZMP in practice has a valid resolution which in essence has abolished the direct party supervision of the Armed Forces and bodies, except for the party committees acting there. As for a so-called politics-free Army, I personally do not believe in it because, ultimately, life, too, naturally is politics. However, as for the affairs of party struggles, meaning in the given case if a multparty system forms in Hungary, I believe that in both the present and future Hungary, such a party will act as a leading force. Parties that will act in the service of the people's interests and following the will of the majority of the people will function. And in such a case, the Armed Forces naturally cannot, of course, have interests that contradict this. [end recording]

MSZMP Working Group Holds Talks With PPF

LD2502043989 Budapest MTI in English 2229 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI)—The working group commissioned by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] Central Committee met with representatives of the Patriotic People's Front, as the first discussion in the consultations launched with representatives of social organizations and movements, on Wednesday [22 February] in Budapest. The negotiating group of the HSWP was led by Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee, the delegation of the Patriotic People's Front by Istvan Huszar, general secretary of the National Council.

Mr Fejti noted that the country had stepped, with the Central Committee decision related to the multi-party system, onto the road to reform, which provided a new framework and form to exercising power. The HSWP did not pose an obstacle to the creation of the multiparty system. At the same time, the party's aim was not to hand over power, but to share it. It was necessary to note this, not because of insistence on power, but because there was no other political force in the country at present capable of governing and having a manifesto. The HSWP was not afraid of facing up to the test, either. However, a political clash of this nature would not, in the evaluation of the party, have a progressive result at the moment. At present, one form of combination seemed expedient: At points where possible, the HSWP strives for agreement, and at others it accepts competition, debate, and confrontation.

Discussing the aim of the consultations, Mr Fejti noted that the first round consisted of preparatory, bilateral discussions. At these talks, the HSWP had no other condition with respect to its negotiating partners than a registered, lawful operation. However, it considered the acceptance of the socialist road to social development, and the taking into consideration of internatinal realities and the alliance system, to be a basis for cooperation.

Mr Huszar informed the HSWP delegation about how the organization wished to renew the People's Front movement, while preparing for the congress. Mrs J. Asbot, member of the National Presidium of the People's Front, said there was no need for another national committee. The People's Front movement should rather be turned into a movement that accords to the role proposed by the New March Front.

Opposition Figure Gyorgy Konrad Interviewed

AU2402121689 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 23 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with writer Gyorgy Konrad, "one of the leading figures of the Hungarian opposition," by Ulrich Glauber, DER SPIEGEL editor: "Konrad: Hungary has Learned To Fight Merely With the Pressure of Words"; date, place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Gyorgy Konrad (55) is one of the leading representatives of Hungarian literature and a leading figure of the Hungarian opposition. In his book, which was recently published in a German translation under the title "Picture of the Prevailing Mood as Seen by a Central European" ["Stimmungsbericht eines Mitteleuropaeers"], the sociologist postulated an "antipolicy," which concedes to the individual the right to oppose the superior force of the state and its police and military machine. The writer supports the victory over the power blocs in Europe that were established by the Yalta conference. In 1978, a ban was imposed on the publication of the Konrad's work, and this ban was virtually only recently suspended with the appearance of free publishing houses. Our editor, Ulrich Glauber, spoke with Konrad about the reform policy in Hungary and the possibility of the country attaining neutral status.

FR: Mr Konrad, the MSZMP Central Committee unanimously decided to no longer possess the leading role of the communists as laid down in the Constitution. Hungary is on the way to a system of party pluralism. Why is it possible to move toward parliamentary democracy at this particular point?

Konrad: Hungary does not have any more resources. A thoughtless investment policy has resulted in $18 billion of foreign debt. The official inflation rate is 15 percent, but in reality it is much higher. It is simply not possible to make more and more cuts in purchasing power and incomes. An increasing number of sectors of the population are subject to a certain kind of poverty.

FR: What measures does the opposition suggest to fight this impoverishment?

Konrad: Competition, at least in certain fields with different economic, ownership, and organizational forms, because the centralized state forms are unproductive. Moreover, opposition circles have realized that one also has to call for political reform. Two years ago, the magic words multiparty system appeared, which Hungary had enjoyed before this was forcefully abolished after the communist takeover in 1947, and which was one of the main demands of the 1956 uprising. The multiparty system is widely supported by society, so even party theorists and functionaries can no longer ignore this idea. Meanwhile, the bulk of the party wants a Communist Party comparable to that of Italy's, which recognizes the existence of other political forces and tendencies. Therefore, it was impossible to maintain the principle of the party's metaphysical right to leadership. It has to compete for the support of the population with political and not with police means.

FR: Is the new orientation not also somewhat related to the reform course of Soviet state and party head Mikhail Gorbachev?

Konrad: Yes, people are less afraid of the Soviet Union and the Brezhnev doctrine (which legitimizes the invasion of Warsaw Pact partner states that turn away from the socialist system—the editors). One can believe that the changes in Hungary cannot be stopped by military means.

FR: However, the economic basis for the changes can only be that there is no other way out.

Konrad: The economic basis is difficult, even in a multiparty system. However, the state may be less wasteful in such a system. It will waste less money on giant projects such as the planned power station on the Danube at the Austrian-Hungarian border, or the plan for a Vienna-Budapest world exhibition, which may be attractive but would burden the Hungarian budget to the tune of some 200 million forints (some DM66 million—the editors). At the same time, pensions are so low that pensioners cannot even pay for medicines.

FR: Real wages have decreased to the level of 1973, and the cost of living is soaring. Is the population not going to relate this development to reform policy, and thus reject any changes?

Konrad: People are not nostalgic about the old system. They have suffered too much to develop neo-Stalinist desires. There is less fear, and in all the media and at rallies people speak frankly about what has happened.

FR: You spoke of a silent revolution in Hungary. Is this revolution not supported only by a small group of intellectuals?

Konrad: It is a slow process. In populations in which fear prevails, some intellectuals begin an opposition movement—the dissidents and civil rights activists. However, others believe that opposition is possible. In Hungary, this opposition no longer consists only of intellectuals; it goes beyond this and will even go further. This will be proved this year, which is indeed a year of change.

FR: Part of this change is coming to terms with Stalinism. A new assessment of the 1956 uprising also seems possible. Will the official definition be maintained that it was initially a popular uprising which then became a counterrevolution?

Konrad: Well, the people say it was a revolution. It is as simple as that. The party resolution that you mentioned, which, however, only speaks of counterrevolutionary elements and not of a counterrevolution, is a compromise in a controversy within the party, which is occurring belatedly, considering the awareness of society. The newspapers, which have become interesting in the meantime, and even state television use the term revolution. Nevertheless, the party's assessment is important. This is because if the 1956 uprising was counterrevolutionary, its achievements such as the multiparty system and neutrality are thus also counterrevolutionary, and the party now has to realize what these people want, namely neutrality. The Hungarians have learned that they cannot reach this goal with weapons, but rather with the nonviolent pressure of words.

FR: Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros no longer considers a neutral Hungary to be an impossibility. Do you think that the other Warsaw Pact member states would observe things without taking action?

Konrad: Last summer we had news that the Soviet Army might withdraw its troops from Hungary. Maybe this was a test balloon, for this has since been denied. However, even officials in the Hungarian party center said on television that the Hungarian party and government leadership would welcome the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

FR: Do you think that the USSR may even be interested in withdrawing militarily?

Konrad: Yes. Last week two leading Soviet officials made statements to this effect. Oleg Bogomolov, director of Moscow's Economics of the World Socialist System Institute and an adviser to Gorbachev, said that it would not affect the USSR's security if Hungary were to

become a neutral country like Austria or Sweden. Paradoxically, he also said that Hungary should remain within the Warsaw Pact. Hungarian television spoke of negotiations between the United States and the USSR on a kind of Finlandization of Hungary. However, the military alliances are to remain as they are.

The USSR needs at its flanks partner countries which are not in a crisis, but which have productive economies. From its geostrategic location, Hungary, which has only two non-Warsaw Pact member states among its neighbors—the neutral states [as published] Austria and the SFRY—could become a field for experimenting on how state socialism can be turned into democratic socialism or a social-liberal country. Today, 95 percent of the capital is still state-owned. The problem is how it can be privatized, at least on the level of small cooperatives, working pools, or other forms, if not private citizens.

FR: Do you personally exclude the possibility of changing over to a system along a Western model?

Konrad: No, personally I do not. What is developing spontaneously in Hungary should be left to develop freely.

Kisspap Elected Head of New Teachers Union

LD2502235589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Excerpt] The Trade Union for Workers in Higher Education was formed because they were dissatisfied with the Teachers Trade Union. Mihaly Mueller reports:

[Mueller] With the adoption of the organizational and operational regulation, the Trade Union for Workers in Higher Education, which brings under it 30,000 people, was formed formally as well. Today Dr Laszlo Kisspap was elected chairman for 3 years. He had temporarily performed the duties of this post to date. [passage omitted]

Periodical Sues Ministry Over Release of Data

LD2502204789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] The periodical KAPU has brought suit against the Finance Ministry for its refusal to release to the newspaper material on the financial investigation carried out into the television department. According to the reasons noted in the suit, the authorities violated the press law, which prescribes a general obligation to release information.

The Finance Ministry's stand is that KAPU is unjustifiably extending its interpretation of the press law. In addition, the release of information in this case is the task of either the television department or, as the superior organ, the government. The court also wants to hear the television department's representative in the affair. For this reason it has postponed today's discussion.

Further Reportage on Roundtable Team Meetings

Subteam for Youth Meets

LD0103033089 Warsaw PAP in English
2237 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—The Round Table Subteam for Youth held its second meeting here today with Andrzej Celinski in the chair. Dariusz Szymczycha informed PAP in the course of discussion.

At the start of the meeting Slawomir Wiatr read out the following statement by the coalition-government side:

The round table talks proceed amid disquieting developments on the streets of Polish cities, Krakow in particular. Street demonstrations, also held under the banners of the Independent Students' Union (NZS) and Solidarity, often give way to provocative brawls, demolition of public property, desecration of Polish and Soviet national remembrance sites. It also comes to acts of physical violence, the detention of the national education minister for one.

These phenomena arouse a firm protest on our part. All the participants in the round table should take a stand on developments of this kind. That is why we turn to the Solidarity opposition side to present its position during today's debate.

Chairman of the debate Andrzej Celinski said he was not going to address himself to the above stand. He added, though, that if it takes intervention of persons and institutions of public confidence to prevent several thousand Krakow youth from taking to the streets, it means, then, that there are reasons behind increasing social tension in Poland.

Further in his speech Celinski addressed Leszek Miller's statement voiced at the previous meeting of the subteam, to the effect that the coalition-government side was not there to defend the status quo. We regard this declaration as very promising and we expect its confirmation in decisions on concrete issues which would change that which led to alienation of a large part of Polish youth. This happened on February 16. The following day saw the developments in Krakow, Celinski said. It is time to put an end to these chain of developments. What is necessary is a clear, authoritative definition of the authorities' intentions, a quick, bold, political decision.

Speaking about the package of issues raised by the coalition-government side at the previous meeting, Celinski said his side could not understand why the problems of organizational pluralism, educational issues, the functions of the Army or socio-occupational adjustment of young workers were linked to the postulate of a coherent educational system and of a defined ideal model of education. The question of educational ideals should be left to parents, teachers, associations, unions, religious ones included, but not to the state.

Our debate should focus on the issue of subjectivity of various youth milieus, on creating appropriate conditions for young people, Celinski said in conclusion of his speech.

Leszek Miller who was the next to take floor, did not share his predecessor's postulate to withdraw earlier proposals, for, as he put it, we view the issues of, say, organizational pluralism as a whole, we locate them in a broader context of problems vital to the nation. I do not think that the question of the registration of NZS or the formation of an alternative pathfinders' organization are expecially fascinating to all groups of Polish youth, Miller said. Young people have some other problems, connected with living and working conditions, learning, the start of professional career, family situation, obtaining an apartment.

Miller expressed surprise over the position taken on the stand presented by Slawomir Wiatr. There should be no hesitation when it comes to so obvious matters as disapproval of street brawls, of ridiculing the memory of people who fell while bringing liberation to this country, of the attitude to the widespreadly respected Soviet leader, Miller said. That which provokes public disapproval should also be reflected during today's meeting.

The ensuing discussion centred on the government-coalition side's proposed draft stands on organizational pluralism and educational consensus, and on principles of its implementation. The Solidarity-opposition side failed to live up to earlier agreements and presented one stand—on pluralism of youth organizations.

The presented stands will be discussed at the subteam's next meeting on March 3.

At the close of the meeting Leszek Miller addressed Andrzej Celinski's statement to the effect that "the demonstrating students still trust us." In this context Miller quoted an utterance from an NZS ally on February 27: "All youth commissions are represented by nondescript persons."

Youth Subteam Member on Debate

LD0103033489 Warsaw PAP in English
2254 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb—"It is hard to speak with full satisfaction about today's talks of the Subteam for Youth," representative of the coalition-government side Slawomir Wiatr told journalists today.

As the working groups wanted we have presented our stance on organisational pluralism and educational consensus. Unfortunately, the opposition-Solidarity side was either unprepared for today's debate or has no proper mandate to negotiate this subject, Wiatr added.

Julian Nuckowski, representing the same side, stressed that unlike the coalition-government side whose intention is to introduce certain changes and systemic solutions, their partners of the Solidarity-opposition side want to solve three detailed problems under the youth subteam: legalisation of NZS, approval of a new pathfinders' organisation ZHR (Union of the Pathfinders of the Polish Republic), and changes in the military services.

Much of the conference time was dominated by discussion over the recent youth demonstrations in Krakow and the impact of these events on the round table debate. "It is not our task to evaluate the Krakow events," Wiatr told journalists. "We only try to find a common way to distance ourselves from them. In our statement pertaining to the events we did not want to humiliate our partners or corner them. We asked the Solidarity-opposition side to show their stance. We have received no answer. In this situation we have resolved that no stance is a stance too."

Youth Chairman on 'Impasse'

LD0103033589 Warsaw PAP in English
2330 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—Here are statements of co-chairmen of the Round Table Subteam for Youth Andrzej Celinski and Leszek Miller, made for PAP after the debate:

Today's debate clearly reached an impasse for two reasons, Celinski said. First of them is the proposal of the government-coalition side to combine the issue of the pluralism of youth trade unions, organizations and institutions with an unclear, in our opinion, framework of educational consensus. The idea of this consensus does not seem fertile enough to us.

We are also of the opinion that there is something untrue in the talk on the educational consensus. In our view the state, the government who conducts with us this dialogue, is not a proper partner to discuss educational ideals. This sould be a task for parents, teachers, youth organizations, political organizations, but not for the government who does not participate in bringing up children, stated he.

The other reason for the impasse was, in my opinion, the atmosphere of this debate. The government side came here with a draft of a statement on the incidents in Krakow. I would like to say that information presented to public opinion is subject to manipulations, that there are attempts to stir up and aggravate social tension. For example, the television dared to combine two reports on two totally different events, each of them made at some different time. The aim of the programme was to show that "Solidarity" and the NZS (Independent Students Association) are the instigators of some brawls in Krakow, Celinski said.

It is true that the debate is in the impasse, Leszek Miller said, but the reason of this is totally different. We presented a statement on the incidents in Krakow. In my opinion every single citizen has his opinion on this issue, as these events generate vigorous protest. We have voiced our protest, and asked our partners to present their stand on the issue. They had none, and I would like express my immense astonishment, as it seemed to me that there remains no doubt as to such obvious things as using violence, devastation of sites of national remembrance, sites connected with our history and with Soviet soldiers. However, our partners did not adopt such stand.

The reason of the impasse was our package of issues related to educational consensus. By this I mean the recognition of values which are universal enough to be accepted by all and one. Among such values are patriotic education of the young generation, public service, respect for national traditions, tolerance for different world outlooks and family as the basic educating milieu. Our partners did not enter into discusson on this subject, Miller said.

Judiciary Subteam Meets

LD0103030789 Warsaw PAP in English
2335 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 28—The Round Table Subteam for Reforming Law and the Judiciary continued here today yesterday's discussion on changes to the penal law. The debate was co-chaired by Lukasz Balcer and Adam Strzembosz.

During Tuesday [28 February] debate Lukasz Balcer said that the coalition-government side shares the view that selected provisions of the penal law should be quickly amended even before work is complete on a comprehensive reform in this area. The scope of these amendments will be conditional on arrangements made both by the subteam in question and the team for political reforms.

At the start, the discussants again referred to Article 282a of the penal code which, in view of conflicting opinions, was entered on the records of divergences. The article concerns penal accountability for public incitement to crime. Balcer suggested the lifting of this provision, too rigorous in the opinion of the Solidarity-opposition side. Lucjan Czubinski said for his part that the provision concerns broadly perceived maintenance of law and order in the state and its lifting would largely hinder the realization of tasks but before prosecution organs.

Hipolit Starszak came out for the lifting of the controversial article. However, this should not take place immediately, he said, but only after an assessment of all effects of the current crime threat.

Next the debaters discussed proposals of amending or lifting other penal regulations, including those concerning offences against public order, the article speaking of

penal accountability for membership of an illegal union for one. The discussants came out for its being re-drafted with view to limiting the circle of people accountable for this offence.

The majority of the teams members came out for lifting a penal code article which provides penal sanctions for creating and leading a union whose existence, structure or goals are not known to state organs. This could become a fact after the enactment of the law on associations.

The participants entered on the records of divergences a postulate to lift a penal code article concerning participation in a public rally which involves attack on a person or property.

In a number of cases the debaters moved for some activities currently regarded as crimes being recognized as offences. This concerned accountability for unauthorised use of radio transmitters.

As for the misdemeanour code, the opposition-Solidarity side proposed the lifting of an article concerning confiscation of so-called instruments helping to perpetrate an offence. Lucjkan Czubinski came out for possible changes to the misdemeanour code being posptoned till the introduction of amendments to the penal law.

Discussion was also sparked off by a postulate to give up an article speaking of a penal accountability for mismanagement. Lukasz Balcer pointed out that there should be no doubt whatsoever at present as to the need of a comprehensive change of the entire penal code chapter concerning economic offences.

The debates adopted a joint stand on strengthening and broadening the independence of courts of law and the judiciary.

Economic Team Continues Meeting

LD0103031789 Warsaw PAP in English
1942 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—A working group for the new economic order gathered at its second meeting today. The group was originally called the group for self-management and forms of ownership and was elected from the "Round Table" Team for Economy and Social Policy.

During the debates, co-chaired by Ryszard Bugaj and Marcin Swiecicki, the debaters continued discussion on detailed questions of placing enterprises in the system of the national economy, powers of the employees' self-management and personnel policy in enterprises.

OPZZ News Briefing

LD0103021489 Warsaw PAP in English
0050 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—Today's news conference by OPZZ representatives was dominated by the walkout of delegates of the health service employees trade union federation during the meeting of the subteam for health.

Wojciech Guglas heading the group on behalf of OPZZ read out a statement which stressed that at its preliminary meeting the team for health unanimously agreed that representatives of three sides: the government, the opposition and the trade union movement will be taking turns in chairing the debates. That we do not permit ourselves being identified as an element of the government coalition does not mean, obviously, that OPZZ is in any opposition towards the government, he said. However, our stand on many an issue is fundamentally different and highly critical.

One should add that the federation recently ended a collective dispute with the government, maybe not the last dispute, too. That is why the stand of the opposition side which regards a representation of the trade union movement as a link in the government coalition is wrong and aims at limiting the discussion. Guglas added that the federation is keen on making the broadest possible contribution to the substantive discussion on health care problems and bad conditions of work and pay in health service.

OPZZ spokesman Franciszek Ciemny said that to undermine OPZZ mandate for participation in talks, granted by seven million members, is an attempt to build a new monopoly. I want to state, he said, that we will not permit to discredit the trade union movement, embedded in work establishments and representing their crews. We want to participate in working out a social accord whose fundamental sense is based on understanding common good.

The OPZZ spokesman also read out an open letter to the government in which, in view of the dramatic expansion of the sphere of poverty among labour veterans, the OPZZ Council urges for a quick start of talks on securing the living standards of labour veterans, both in the nearest future and in the long run which should be safeguarded by law.

Solidarity Members Meet Press

LD0103021989 Warsaw PAP in English
0112 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—"As regards the joint trade union representation in factories, the opposition-Solidarity side has agreed to a far-going compromise," its spokesman Piotr Nowinakonopka told a press conference today. They agreed to the principle of obligatory

mixed representation dealing with individual issues of importance to the worker crew and agreed to a voting of delegates in case the union representation fails to reach consent.

Representative of the opposition-Solidarity side in the Subteam for Youth Andrzej Celinski said that its work had reached an evident impasse because, first, the side he represents did not agree to linking the question of youth pluralism with consensus on the education system. Second, the Solidarity side rejected the proposal to sign by all subteam members a joint position on the youth action in Krakow.

Asked to evaluate that action and its potential consequences, Celinski replied that the Krakow TV showed them in wrong light suggesting that the NZS [Independent Association of University Students] had caused the riot. Celinski reiterated that the Solidarity-opposition side demands quick approval of legalisation of the NZS which could, he believes, ease the tensions.

Ryszard Bugaj who is on the working team negotiating self-government and forms of ownership told journalists that agreement on whether to drop party recommendations for managing posts is still far away. The Solidarity side, he said, rejects the proposal that Solidarity starts its recommendations too. This would lead to stronger politicization of enterprises, which would be economically harmful.

Solidarity-opposition members of the Subteam for Health were decisively against party recommendations for posts in health service, Zofia Kuratowska told the conference, while Marek Edelman added that doing away with the so-called nomenklatura is a basic thing in health care without which there will be no consensus and no progress in all other questions discussed by this subteam.

The journalists were informed that the opposition-Solidarity side had tabled the question of equalizing the opportunities of rural and urban youth in their access to medical universities.

Jadwiga Skorzewska and Lech Falandysz representing the opposition-Solidarity side in the Subteam for Courts of Law and Reforms in the Law told the conference that this subteam had reached consensus on several points, especially on the abrogation of terms in the work of judges and selection of candidates for judges.

However, Falandysz added, the Solidarity side did not accept discussing by the subteam meetings of the general principles of reforms in the penal law but merely demanded cancellation of some regulations coming from the Stalin era and martial law period.

Associations Team Members Listed

AU2802172989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Feb 89 p 3

[PAP report: "Team for Associations and Regional Self-Administration—Composition of the Team"]

[Text] Jacek Ambroziak, Jerzy Bafia, Stefan Bratkowski, Jan Brol, Zbgniew Bujak, Eryk Chojnacki, Piotr Czerwiec, Marek Frackowiak, Stanislawa Grabska, Jerzy Janicki, Stefan Jurczyk, Mariusz Kaminski, Adam Kowalewski, Mieczyslaw Krajewski, Michal Kulesza, Jacek Kurczewski, Aleksander Kwasiniewski, Wojciech Lamentowicz, Kazimierz Malecki, Henry Martyniuk, Maria Moskal, Jozef Musiol, Janina Orlowska, Walerain Panko, Antoni Paris, Antoni Rajkiewicz, Jerzy Regulski, Zbigniew Rokicki, Kazimierz Secomski, Wojciech Sokolewicz, Jerzy Sosnowski, Janusz Stepniak, Mieczyslaw Szostek, Jan Szreniawski, Alfred Wawrzyniak, Janusz Zablocki, Jan Zalewski, Sylwester Zawadzki, Jerzy Zdrada.

Members of Education Team Listed

AU0103095189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 3

[PAP report: "Composition of the Team"]

[Text] The "Roundtable" Subteam for Science, Education, and Technological Progress is chaired by Jacek Fisiak and Henryk Samsonowicz. The composition of the team is as follows:

Stefan Amsterdamski, Marek Bartosik, Klemens Bialecki, Grzegorz Bierecki, Marek Bogucki, Eugeniusz Budny, Zbigniew Cierpka, Piotr Ciompa, Maria Czarnecka, Tadeusz Diehm, Roman Duda, Jerzy Filipiak, Wladyslaw Findeisen, Roman Grabowski, Zofia Grzebisz-Nowicka, Janusz Grzelak, Andrzej Janowski, Jan Klamut, Jan Kluczynski, Stanislaw Koperski, Wlodzimierz Kowalski, Czeslaw Krolikowski, Wiktor Kulerski, Wladyslaw Kunicki-Goldfinger, Aleksander Luczak, Wit Majewski, Wlodzimierz Malec, Jerzy Marlewski, Roman Ney, Jerzy Niemiec, Janusz Palubicki, Jozef Pielachowski, Anna Przeclawska, Anna Radziwill, Jan Rychlewski, Barbara Rychlik, Jozef Senkala, Adam Stanowski, Krystyna Starczewska, Stefan Starczewski, Robert Stelmaszczyk, Jerzy Surman, Czeslaw Szczegielniak, Janusz Syrokomski, Marian Wojciechowski, Jan Zaciura, and Janusz Ziolkowski.

Democratic Party Representative on Urban Remark

LD2302105489 Warsaw PAP in English 0236 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—At a press conference here today, Piotr Winczorek DP (Democratic Party) representative for debates of the roundtable team for political reforms said that the government press spokesman, Jerzy Urban at his press conference here yesterday had misinterpreted the concept of the presidential office tabled by DP. He maintained that it was not DP alone

but the whole coalition which spoke in favour of the office. "Jerzy Urban's statement sounded as if DP defended a non-democratic stance. It is not so. DP believes that the presidential office will be a factor stabilizing the state in the conditions of political pluralism," Winczorek told newsmen.

Winczorek stressed that DP did not press for speedy settlement of the restitution of presidential office and did not regard it to be particularly urgent for reforming the political system of the state.

Another representative of DP said that in the frames of the "roundtable" subteam for education, DP came out for the profound change of the structure of educational system in which greater role would be played by secondary schools while that of vocational schools would be reduced.

Further on Student Demonstrations in Krakow

Government Statement Read

LD2802132989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] The roundtable subteam for youth affairs convened for its second session in Warsaw today. The meeting is chaired jointly by Andrzej Celinski and Leszek Miller.

The meeting started with the reading of a statement of the government and coalition side: The roundtable deliberations are accompanied by alarming events in the streets of the Polish cities, in particular in Krakow. Street demonstrations held under banners of the NZS [independent Union of Students] and Solidarity, become provocative brawls, cause the destruction of public property and the desecration of Polish and Soviet national monuments. There are also cases of physical violence, which is exemplified by the detention of the minister of national education.

These phenomena give rise to our decisive protest. Events of this kind, the statement reads, require a serious rebuff from all participants in the roundtable. We therefore turn to the opposition and Solidarity side to express their stance during today's deliberations.

The opposition and Solidarity side has so far failed to express its attitude to this statement.

Urban on Freedom To Demonstrate

LD2802212589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] [Presenter] Jerzy Urban's conference today was held in an unusual setting. A group of young people gathered in front of the Interpress building holding banners saying: We demand the abolition of censorship. Jerzy Urban referred to that in a reply to one of the questions.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] In the government's opinion, does every demonstration, even the most peaceful, such as the one being held at the moment by the Freedom of Speech [Wolnosc Slowa] Movement in front of this building, constitute a threat to the roundtable talks? In the government's opinion, doesn't any law prepared by the government and passed by the Sejm, no matter how much it contradicts the decisions made so far by the roundtable, constitute such a threat?

[Urban] I do not make judgments about this kind of picketing, which has become normal in the Polish landscape. However, I have in front of me—since you are talking about the Freedom and Peace Movement—a leaflet calling for a rally in Krakow on the occasion of the anniversary of the 1921 mutiny in Kronshtadt. Simply, I think that the freedom to demonstrate is being extended in Poland, but this should not mean an epidemic of demonstrations, because there are more important things in Poland, around which social ambitions and activities should center, rather than rallies and demonstrations, which are not justified by the political situation. I do not know any laws or legal acts which would justify protest demonstrations.

[Correspondent] I wasn't talking about the Freedom and Peace Movement but about the Freedom of Speech Movement, which was set up in Warsaw 1 week ago and which organized this demonstration. For the sake of an explanation: its program is completely convergent with the stance of the Solidarity side, as presented provisionally at the mass media roundtable.

[Urban] I have not heard about the Freedom of Speech Movement. We have many movements. I think that freedom of speech is very developed in Poland and that restriction of freedom of speech is not the greatest ailment of Polish society today. [end recording]

'Pax' Spokesman on Protests

LD0103002589 Warsaw PAP in English 2250 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—Spokesman for the "Pax" association at the round table Stanislaw Wlazlo extended a statement to PAP which reads in part:

"The round table debates are accompanied by two negative phenomena of national context: the wave of pay disputes and strikes and excesses of a part of youth-student milieux.

"As compared with the entire academic milieu of Krakow it was an irresponsible group. It seems that a part of youth is currently being led astray by provocations striking at the basic patriotic interest because the intellectual culture in Poland has for years been characterized by the lack of criticism towards the cosmopolitical current and at the same time by a shortage in historical education. That youth falls victim to ambiguities.

"The agreement which we wish to achieve through, among other means, the round table debates must be clearly and uniquevocally an agreement of the Polish patriotic forces understanding the Polish national interest in such a way as it was given an expression by the latest Sejm's (parliament) session on Poland's foreign plicy. The principles of the Polish patriotism and contemporary criteria of the Polish national interest must draw an unquestionable limit to political pluralism," the spokesman said.

Rector Addresses Students

LD2802220989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Today's papers carry a statement by the Senate of Jagiellonian University which contains its position with regard to the situation at the university. The Senate termed the so-called happening on 23 February an unprecedented prank that demonstrated a basic lack of culture and civic responsibility. In the third point of the statement, the Senate refers directly to the television program, as follows:

The facts under discussion were tendentiously presented on nationwide television on the evening of 26 February. Certain events were blown out of proportion, while others were ignored altogether. Particularly falsified was the speech by Professor Stanislaw Grodziski, the deputy rector for studies, from which part of one sentence was chosen. This fragment, taken out of context, had its meaning changed in an obvious way. We firmly protest this kind of manipulation and demand access to the television so as to present the Senate's position on this issue.

It was precisely this matter that was discussed by Dr Witold Wasniewski, head of the television center where Sunday's program was filmed, on today's "Chronicle" program on Krakow television. Arguing for the right of every publicist to present his own theses and disagreeing with the criticism, editor Wasniewski broadcast the full recording of the deputy rector's speech. We, too, are broadcasting the speech by Prof Stanislaw Grodziski.

[Begin recording] [Shouts and crowd noises; video shows large numbers of students dressed in mock military uniforms, carrying cardboard weapons] [Grodziski] I know that you all are smiling now. I would not want you to smile [words indistinct]. I, too, would like to smile.

Yesterday, we had a several-hour Senate meeting, as a result of which we turned to the municipal authorities for a definition of the university's boundaries. What is the university campus? Where, for instance, can the kind of meetings currently taking place be held? We received a promise that the university campus will be the quarter enclosed by Wislna Street, St Anne's Street, the gates of Olszewskiego Street, Jagielonska Street, and Golebia Street. It may be that this will be subject to certain limitations, it was said, because after all, you will not be able to guarantee us that if a jewelry shop or a General Savings Bank is robbed [laughter] that the forces of law and order will not be able to intervene. Indeed, I will not guarantee this, and so it may be that this will, to some degree, be subject to change.

In any case, a promise was formulated as to what the university campus is, but it was not just this that I wanted to say. I also wanted to say something very important, and kindly note this, please. I repeat once more, please note this, that as with today, so with tomorrow, and so possibly with the coming days, it will not be a desirable thing to try to enter Market Square up to the poet Adam [statue of Adam Mickiewicz] since it will transpire that by their entrance into the market, with the entry of any demonstration into the market, the streets around the whole market will be closed off, from Sienna onward, ending on Bracka. How will the human mass feel when it enters the market and realizes that almost the entire market is closed off and that the exits quite simply are barricaded along all these streets? That is why I strongly request that you take this into account, as I was informed yesterday at a meeting on Mogilska Street—and I have this information first-hand—that no demonstration will be allowed out of the market in the direction of the voivodship committee building, [laughter] in the direction of...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] What a laugh!

[Grodziski, continuing] ...Sorry, what is the name? The Soviet Consulate [laughter], or in any other direction.

[Unidentified speaker] And does this apply to the U.S. Consulate?

[Grodziski] In light of what I heard, the U.S. Consulate, as well. That is what was implied. You, at the moment, know all I know, for I am passing on all on which it was possible to agree. As you are playing at the moment [reference to the dress of many of the demonstrators], I wish you a good game, but I also would like to have a calm day. I request this. Thank you. [applause] [end recording]

We have broadcast in its entirety the 23 February speech by Prof Stanislaw Grodziski, deputy rector of Jagiellonian University. The commentary is left to you.

Krakow Students Discuss Strike

LD2802165389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] The strike declared yesterday by the Independent Students' Union [NZS] at the Jagiellonian University, Krakow, did not materialize. In the course of a meeting between the university authorities and the students it was decided to substitute the occupation strike with absenteeism. The causes for the protest have not changed since yesterday.

Strike Continues at University

LD2802222889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Peace has returned to the streets of Krakow. The absentee strike—which according to posters put up near the main entrance to the Collegium Novum is a form of protest against the beating of students, provoking incidents, and disinformation in the press—continues at Jagiellonian University. Some laboratory, computer, and conversation classes were held, but students did not attend lectures.

Student Strike Ends

LD2802232489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Yesterday at 2000 [1900 GMT, 28 February], the absentee strike at Jagiellonian University, which the university students declared on 27 February during a rally organized before the Collegium Novum, was called off.

Krakow Streets 'Quiet'

LD0103022589 Warsaw PAP in English 2346 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Krakow, Feb. 28—The streets of Krakow are quiet again after recent student demonstrations which developed a dangerous provocative character threatening the round table conference and turned into street brawls and clashes with law enforcement troops. The wave of emotions seems gone though student rallies and protest actions continue in a more peaceful atmosphere.

A stay-home strike, continued by Jagiellonian University students to protest against "beating up students," "provoking riots," and "press disinformation," as posters stuck around the Collegium Novum entrance call it, ended at 20:00 hrs tonight.

The university authorities and students are negotiating, the legislation of NSZ [Independent Association of University Students] and other questions.

A protest-information rally was held at the building of Krakow Polytechnic whose participants protest against what they think was an unjustified action of law enforcement troops. The rally continued in a peaceful atmosphere with participating representatives of the schools college and Rector Professor Wladyslaw Muszynski.

Classes are held as usual in other higher schools of Krakow. The District Council of the ZSA [expansion unknown] student union has published its stand on the street riots which reads, in part: We believe this type of actions do poor service to the interest of the campus. We protest against manipulation in the student community which, in its large part, declares itself in favour of solving conflicts at the round table not with the use of stones. At the same time we want to point out that tear gas cartridges hailing around the Collegium Novum are no conflict-solving method either.

The Krakow City Council assumed a position in which it does not deny the students right to come out with various options in world outlooks or politics but voiced concern and indignation over the forms employed to demonstrate these attitudes. The council also regretted the provocative and anti-Soviet character of the events.

A college of rectors of Krakow higher schools met at the premises of the physical education academy here Tuesday [28 February] afternoon. It was summoned by the city mayor to deal with the latest developments. The college was expanded by representatives of student self-government. Also present were voivodship (?provincial) prosecutor and chief of the provincial office for internal affairs.

Suspension of Belchatow Strike Extended

LD2802231389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Today, the deadline for the suspension of the strike in the Belchatow hard coal mine passed. During talks between the management and the strike committee the suspension of the strike was extended to 31 March. The strike committee directed an open letter to the Ministry of Industry, proposing the introduction of several of its own solutions.

The repair and assembly enterprise of the brewing industry in (?Cierpice) in Plock Voivodship has not been working for a week. For the 5th day, municipal transport in Plock is not operating. Protest action is continuing in the largest Tarnow bakery, belonging to (?PSZ) Splolem. Enterprises subordinate to the regional enterprise of the municipal and housing economy in Stargard Szczecinski also stopped working today for 5 hours. There the strike was suspended to 15 March. Employees of the equipment and transport base of the (?General) Construction Combine No. 1 in Szczecin, the workforce of [words indistinct] in this city, the workforce of the meat enterprises in (?Lublin) and the W12 section of the Elblag Zamech are continuing to strike. Negotiations between the strikers and the managements concerning mainly wage demands are continuing everywhere.

Catholic Students Union Formed in Czestochowa

AU2102170589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "A Catholic Students Union Formed in Czestochowa"]

[Text] A Catholic Students Union was registered at the Internal Affairs Department of the Voivodship Offices in Czestochowa. This body, whose activity covers Czestochowa Voivodship, considers the following to be

its most important tasks: a consolidation of the independence of educational establishments, and the propagation of Catholic ethics and work morals.

Walesa Tours Szczecin; Addresses Port Workers

LD0103025589 Warsaw PAP in English
0042 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Szczecin, Feb. 28—Lech Walesa visited Szczecin today where he laid flowers at the memorial plaque near the Warski shipyard gates commemorating those fallen in December 1970 in the name of working class Solidarity. He also met with bishops of the Szczecin-Kamien diocese Jan Galecki and Stanislaw Stefanek.

Walesa met with workers of the Szczecin port, several other enterprises, and youth at the port community centre. he answered a number of questions about the round table conference, the prospects for democratisation in the state, upcoming Sejm elections, current government policy, the activities of Solidarity, etc.

For the first time it seems that Poland may have a chance to catch up with Europe, Walesa said and added that the round table is just a door opening. This solves nothing but offers a chance. Referring to the parliamentary elections Walesa told his audience that arguments in favour of boycotting the elections should be discarded under the conditions created by the authorities. Provided that appropriate freedoms are ensured, he added.

If we fail to agree, Walesa went on, Poland will become a backroad of Europe. We cannot afford the luxury of not making reforms. Our great-grandfathers and grandfathers will turn in their graves if we turn Poland into a God-forsaken place in Europe. Poland belongs to us all. Poland is not only NZS [Independent Association of University Students], Poland is of us all and we all have to fight for her and communicate so that all which makes Poland is inviolable. Only by work in new conditions, after previous agreement, by a well-organized work can we tow up Poland to Europe, Walesa said.

Further on Walesa Speech

LD2802233189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 28 Feb 89

["Excerpt" from speech by Lech Walesa at a meeting at the Szczecin port on 28 February]

[Text] [Announcer] Lech Walesa was at the port of Szczecin today. One of the questions concerned youth affairs.

[Begin Walesa recording] [Words indistinct] Poland is not just the Independent Student Association; Poland is for everyone, so we all have to fight for it and come to agreement afterward, so that all that Poland represents is not endangered, is agreed upon, and at the same time fulfilled in accordance with what we decide. Today I know that [words indistinct] for there are a lot of young people here who would [word indinstinct] us, so I want to say: only (?by work)—Poland will be built only by work—intelligent, well-organized work. Only in these conditions can we create and bring Poland into Europe. I ask you, dear young people, I know how difficult it is, but today we must not allow ourselves the luxury of not waiting 3 weeks. What is happening in Krakow or Warsaw, (?Mother of God)! I was not supposed to be coming to you at all, but I (?should have been) there. But I said: No, sir. I respect you; I love you because you are my children, but at the same time, you must not. [end recording]

Swedish Paper Interviews Solidarity Leader Bujak

PM2802095089 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER
in Swedish 19 Feb 89 p 44

[Report on interview with Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak by Maciej Zaremba: "The Model Worker Who Went Underground"—date, place not given]

[Text] "This time we will succeed. In practice Solidarity has already been recognized by the government."

So said Zbigniew Bujak—Poland's most popular Solidarity leader after Lech Walesa—between a visit from the Swedish foreign minister and a meeting with the Polish Government. Since the beginning of February those in power in Poland are talking with the united democratic opposition for the first time since 1981. This time much more is at stake than free trade unions. Zbigniew Bujak believes in a compromise which will introduce a parliamentary system in Poland.

In his excellent book on the Solidarity revolution British historian Timothy Garton Ash writes that when he saw Bujak for the first time he immediately thought of Stalin's model workers: tall and muscular, with an open face and determination in his eyes, he would be an ornament for any shock brigade.

Even his background could come from some communist tract: the seventh child of a poor farming family which abandons the farm and joins the workers; determined professional studies [homework by lamplight]; military service [as a corporal in the parachute regiment] completed with glowing reports; evening classes; and, as the jewel in the crown, employment as an energy technician at the Ursus tractor factory in Warsaw.

However, that is where the similarity to Stakhanov and his imaginary comrades ends. At home in the two rooms inhabited by eight people there was bitter talk of "the Reds" and contemptuous talk of friends and acquaintances who joined the party. That was not something that honorable people did. Bujak's strongest memory is from August 1968: his father, brothers, sister weeping by the radio.

It was 10 years later that he went to see a priest "who preached in a language which I did not recognize from the press" and asked for help in getting in touch with the opposition. At the Ursus factory the party had been holding mass meetings warning against the human rights movement, KOR: "CIA agents who openly admit that they want to topple our social system."

"That made an impression. 'If there are those who are saying openly what everyone is thinking,' people said, 'they must have strong reasons.' So one day I went into the cafeteria, introduced myself, and began to distribute ROBOTNIK and told people that anyone being persecuted could seek help from KOR. The party secretary became so perplexed that he accepted the paper."

Bujak did not become a "hero of labor." Instead he became a "workers' hero." At the age of 26 he was elected chairman of Warsaw's 500,000 Solidarity members. In December 1981, after the military coup and Lech Walesa's internment, he went underground and, hunted by the country's police, for 4 and ½ years he led the underground resistance whose fruits are now being harvested in Budapest and Moscow. Bujak shook his head at such grand words, but in the next breath said that "Gorbachev's de-Stalinization is of course a response to Solidarity" and, a little more seriously: "According to Sakharov and our friends in the Soviet Union, perestroyka's future depends on how successful we are in compromising in Poland."

"We"—that is, the Poles, but at present the delegation of Solidarity leaders and other democratic forces which are now negotiating with the Communist Party about trade union pluralism, the independence of the courts, economic reform, press freedom, and freedom of association and about the Communist Party's position in parliament. After 7 years of assurances that it would "never ever" negotiate with Solidarity, Jaruzelski's party now seems prepared to abandon its monopoly position. Why this complete turnabout? And can Solidarity trust its interlocutor?

"No, no," Bujak replied. "We have never trusted those in power over us. But we have to behave as if they were credible. What would we do otherwise? They are negotiating because the last 3 years have taught them that they cannot rule the country against the will of society. We, on the other hand, learned in December 1981 that we cannot reform Poland without their cooperation."

This diplomatic formula forms the foundation of the talks. But it is not accepted by everyone. After the government's first conciliatory gestures last fall, two opposition priests were murdered by "persons unknown."

"That means," Bujak said with a contemptuous grimace, "that the party plenum debate on what sort of line to take with the opposition is continuing in new forms." And it means that the government does not have control over its own security police. Remarkably enough, its top chief, Interior Minister Kisz czak, threatened at the latest party plenum to resign unless the party accepted that it would have to negotiate with Solidarity. And the day before Zbigniew Bujak's visit to Sweden he and the police minister met for the first time.

"Kiszczak hunted me for 4 years. It was on his orders that people were imprisoned and beaten up. And now I was supposed to shake hands with him. 'No,' I thought first, 'we can negotiate, but we do not need to fraternize.' But how would that look? 'Such an arrogant little hick,' someone might say: 'He thinks that his refusing to greet Kiszczak means something.' And I realized that that would be terribly banal, flat, idiotic. Important things are happening here, and then someone makes a big thing of a symbolic gesture. And we shook hands, gave each other a meaningful look, sat down, and began to talk about the legalization of Solidarity."

He shook his head in disbelief, as if he found it difficult to believe his own words.

"This is something completely new in our history. We have gotten used to toppling governments and driving off our oppressors, but this time we have to 'bite our tongues' and try to get on speaking terms with them."

There are many among the younger and militant workers who think that their leaders have already gone too far with reconciliation. If the priests' murders were police provocations—which the majority of people do not doubt—they were doubtlessly intended to strengthen this view. These young people have brought a new dimension to the Polish conflict.

They were mere children when Solidarity came into being and they grew up amid the confrontations of martial law. Their future looks black: meaningless and underpaid jobs, galloping inflation, and 20 years of waiting in line for housing. They have even less to lose than Bujak's generation and they are not afraid. For them 1956 and 1968 are ancient history and their picture of the Soviet Union is one of an empire conquered by Afghan guerrillas and undergoing rapid decay. You can accuse them of a lack of realism and of youthful impatience, but you should not forget that their refusal to compromise is fed by the same spirit of moral dissociation which has always been Solidarity's foremost hallmark.

This does not only apply to violence. Jaruzelski's policemen have not balked at mistreating children to make their parents refrain from involvement with the opposition, or at presenting people with unusually nasty choices: "Your mother is dying; sign a declaration of loyalty and you'll be able to see her one last time." Or, as was the case with Adam Michnik and 10 other imprisoned opposition leaders, offering them freedom in exchange for emigration—that is, moral and political suicide.

The young militants, who sometimes sound as if they would rather await the collapse of the Soviet Union than shake hands with their oppressors, perhaps have Michnik's answer ringing in their ears. "You believe that I would accept the offer," he wrote in his open letter to the interior minister, "because you would not hesitate to accept it yourself. You believe that everyone is driven, like you, by self-interest and low calculation, and you cannot believe anything different about us, because then you would become aware of the truth about yourselves: that you are vindictive swine without honor... And that is why, corrupted yourselves, you want to draw us down to your level."

How do you bridge such a gap?

"Yes, you tell me," Bujak replied. "Anyway, during the first meeting Kiszczak said that he does not bear a grudge against Michnik for this letter. That in Michnik's place he could envisage writing worse things to his interior minister. Thus he too is biting his tongue.

"But of course we asked: How can you? Yesterday you were calling us counterrevolutionaries and CIA agents: And now? And then the ministers began to explain that that is how things go in politics. When you are preparing a move you first have to prepare public opinion, ascribe suitable qualities to your opponent, and so on. And if you fail you have to change tactics and say other things. They seem to have abandoned all ideology and are presenting the Polish conflict as a rational power game and a question of relative strengths. And of course this makes things easier for both sides: But what sort of policy is that?

"It is one of the Polish situation's paradoxes that it is the most uncompromising workers who made the compromise possible. It was they who last summer defied Walesa's peace calls in a wave of spontaneous strikes. For the government the strikes were a warning signal: There were those who were both more militant and more radical than Walesa and Solidarity, which now appeared to be a mediating force. But it is not Solidarity, but what is around it that has changed," Zbigniew Bujak said.

"It is hard for me to say it, but I think that in 1980 we were overoptimistic. We were doomed to fail, since we we alone then. Today half the Soviet bloc is on the move. We are working together with free Hungarian trade unions and are in contact with the people's fronts in the Baltic republics. And it is beyond any doubt that the government's decision to begin negotiations with Solidarity has been confirmed in Moscow."

He was eager to tone down his role in the negotiations. "Lech carries the heaviest burden of responsibility. My task will primarily be to persuade our own people to accept the compromise." This seems to be a wise division of labor. Bujak is the hero of the young, a legend of the opposition movement and a Robin Hood figure—tough, cheeky, and daredevil. Most people know the story of how Bujak, arrested by chance, pretended to be a psychiatrist, refused to answer questions for professional reasons—"you know anyway that people never mean what they say"—only to finally give his three police escorts the slip during his transfer and disappear. Now that he is talking about reconciliation, not even the most militant can dismiss this as personal fear.

He remembers the 4 and ½ years of being on the run from the police with mixed feelings. On the one hand, he said, it was necessary to show those in power and the world how widespread opposition was and that the government could not even rely on its own people.

"I lived with hundreds of unknown people, including policemen, party secretaries, even with the government spokesman's son-in-law. On the other hand, it was sometimes murderously boring, and very difficult to be away from her," he laughed, drawing his wife, Wacia, to him.

They met at the Ursus factory when he was new there and she was already well-known for her tough approach to management. He proposed and was turned down. "Come back when you've done your national service and have a career; I want a man, not a boy," Wacia said. It was to win her that he became a parachutist, he said. They married in 1977. He was long known as his wife's husband. "Wacia's guy" —this created confidence amongst the workers at the tractor factory.

"We knew," Bujak said, "that the best way to get caught was to try to see one's family. The security police kept a close watch on Wacia 24 hours a day. So it was 7 months after the coup before we saw each other for the first time, and not even our parents knew about it. It was a major operation: changing cars on bridges, changing to motorcycles in forests with no roads; many people had to help so that the whole thing would work."

"Does that really need to be printed?" Wacia interrupted worriedly. He waved his hand dismissively. "They probably already know how things like that are arranged. And today..."

He glows with confidence. Before the end of March, he said, a Polish compromise, including a parliamentary system, ought to be a reality.

"In order for the trade union not to become politicized, the political conflicts must move into parliament, and the government seems to have realized this."

One might think that after 7 years of embittered positional warfare much more time would be needed for so comprehensive an agreement. But the last 7 years have changed much in Poland, and this is where the Solidarity movement's unique character lies, also in relation to the Polish tradition of the struggle for freedom.

If history were to repeat itself even in the broadest terms, Solidarity's reaction to the 1981 defeat would have been a split and—at best—a new and even more desperate uprising. But instead the majority of Poles turned their backs on those in power and began to build a parallel society, alongside the paralyzed and hateful official society. This began, as always, with an independent press, but soon there were schools, movie theaters, theaters, exhibition centers, vacation villages, and health centers, and also research institutes, insurance funds, and higher education seminars. The only thing that this multifaceted movement did not touch was the power mechanism and centrally directed industry.

This means that in all these fields today there are the embryos of democratic institutions which have already been functioning for a number of years. The strength of this civil society is of course a deadly threat to the Soviet model. But at the same time it has—yet another post-totalitarian paradox—a calming effect on Polish Communists' nerves. A rapid liberalization does not threaten to be a step into the unknown. The ground which those in power will have to give up has in practice already been lost to reliably responsible institutions.

If Zbigniew Bujak's optimistic prophecy does come true, he will have special reason to celebrate the victory. Immediately after the military coup the majority of Solidarity leaders, including Jacek Kuron, believed that Solidarity's only chance was a successful general strike. That is why they wanted to organize the opposition with a centralized, hierarchical structure, able to arrange nationwide actions. It would be led by Zbigniew Bujak, among others. But the worker from Ursus said "no" to power; rejected the strike strategy as too risky; and began instead, with the help of quotations from Witold Gombrowicz, to argue passionately for a loose, pluralistic, and decentralized resistance movement—"an underground society."

This far from heroic program met with little sympathy initially; it left a decision to some undefined point in the future and—even worse—it broke with a 200-year-old tradition of rebellion. But it turned out that Bujak's proposal, which soon became that of Warsaw Solidarity, squared well with the Poles' spontaneous reaction to martial law. How could he be so sure of himself in 1981?

"I simply could not understand how you could demand obedience in an underground movement. Should we create courts? Or should people swear loyalty to me? That would be conning them. They would say: Excellent, boys; build and organize, and tell me when you have a job for me. Many people saw it like that. Leaders and foot soldiers, sections and committees, organization and order. But such a structure must be constantly given jobs to do! Which lead forwards. Achieving such a program is beyond human capacity. I was sure that such a monolith must sooner or later suffer from a sense of meaninglessness and that it was therefore doomed to degenerate. After a series of unavoidable failures a well-oiled organization becomes frustrated and people begin to look around for more tangible effects. And what do they do then? They naturally resort to weapons! A centralized resistance movement in a totalitarian state cannot escape being infected by its rival, if it has not already been infiltrated by it. A mosaic of independent groups does not risk this fate."

Finally, you have a reputation for being an optimist. What do you wish for in the immediate future?

"That we get a government which knows how to handle the new situation, so that we don't have to fight it. That is something of which everyone is tired. I probably am an optimist, but not a naive optimist. I know that great hardships and enormous problems await us. But we want problems! As long as we are allowed to resolve them ourselves."

Iranian Ambassador Interviewed on Rushdie Affair

AU2802161689 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 24-26 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Abol Fazl Rahnama-Hazavei, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran, by Wojciech Luczak: "Who Insults God..."—date, place not given]

[Text] [Luczak] Could you explain what has so deeply offended Iran and Imam Khomeyni?

[Rahnama-Hazavei] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. I would like to explain that Salman Rushdie's book does not insult our people or our leader, Imam Khomeyni. What it does insult is Islam and all those who base their conduct on the principles of the Islamic religion. However, the most important thing is that the book is being used as an element in the propaganda campaign being waged by imperialism and Zionism. As for the way in which Western information agencies operate, Poland has been able to find that out for itself.

[Luczak] What exactly has Salman Rushdie been sentenced to death for?

[Rahnama-Hazavei] As far as I can tell, the title itself already indicates what can be found in the book. I have to say that I cannot imagine that anyone in Poland, which is a deeply religious country, would dare insult the church or mock Jesus. However, if something of that kind were to happen, I do not think that the pope could remain silent.

According to the Islamic religion, the penalty to be incurred by someone who insults God, his Prophet, or the word of God is death. The judgment is the same in any Muslim country and not just in Iran. So this affair concerns all Islamic countries.

[Luczak] Why then are other Islamic countries remaining silent, whereas Iran has reacted?

[Rahnama-Hazavei] The Islamic countries are completely familiar with this judgment. So I suggest that you ask their representatives to express their positions....

If someone has a complaint to make to us, then they should read the book carefully, and they will then be able to say whether the book insults God, his Prophet, or the word of God.

It is being said that taking a stance against a book strikes at the right of publishing freedom and at the rights of man. However, it is the West that decides what is and what is not a human right. How can one talk about freedom when a billion people all over the world have been offended. If you live in an apartment you behave in way that does not disturb your neighbors living in the same building....

[Luczak] Does this mean that according to Islamic law death is the penalty for anyone who acts against God, the word of God, or his Prophet?

[Rahnama-Hazavei] Yes, Islamic law is quite clear about that.

[Luczak] By reacting so fiercely, do you not think that you have inflamed the situation and provided Rushdie with additional publicity?

[Rahnama-Hazavei] I agree that this has provided publicity. However, we were not responsible for it. The whole commotion, the EEC session, the articles, and campaigns—all that is the work of the West. Besides, these possibilities are not available to our propaganda. However, do you think that there would be no commotion if we remained silent? The people who published "The Satanic Verses" knew perfectly well what they were doing. I think that they know more about our religion than might be imagined. Their plan of striking at Islam is obvious, and that is why we had to react.

I can tell you one more thing that is frequently overlooked in press reports. It was not Imam Khomeyni who issued the sentence against Rushdie. He simply stated what stems from the principles of our religion. As far as we are concerned, the matter is closed. At the moment only the West is creating a commotion about it.

During recent centuries the colonial powers have grown accustomed to waging a struggle against Islam. This struggle has been intensified following the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Particular efforts are being made to prevent Islamic ideology from spreading to other countries. This is why the sacred Islamic religion has been insulted. The plot that was initiated by the publication of Rushdie's book is one way of waging the struggle. All this has been cunningly put together and it marks just the first stage in the realization of a plan.

Youth Paper Declines Publishing Rushdie Passages

AU0103101389

[Editorial Report] Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish on 24-26 February carries the following announcement on page 3: "Passages from Salman Rushdie's book 'The Satanic Verses' will appear in SZTANDAR MLODYCH starting Monday." The 27 February issue of the paper carries the following announcement on page 5: "The publication of passages from Salman Rushdie's book 'The Satanic Verses' announced previously will not be possible for reasons beyond the control of the editorial staff."

Politburo Discusses Roundtable, Pluralism

LD0103040489 Warsaw PAP in English
0130 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—The PUWP CC Political Bureau met today at a joint session with the Government Presidium to assess the socio-political situation in the country and to discuss the hitherto course of the round table talks.

The debaters were briefed on the effects of the voivodship report conferences of the PUWP. Resolutions of the 10th PUWP CC Plenum are the leitmotifs of vivid and frank discussions. The decisions of the plenum are treated as an exceptionally important stimulus for transformations in the life of the party.

The conferences on the voivodship level and in the Army forces held it indispensable to strengthen the political unity of the party, to consolidate it and to provide new stimuli in the public life, in tune with the results of the third national theoretical and ideological conference.

The debaters pointed out that it is necessary to determine far-reaching principles for cooperation with the trade union movement in the conditions of trade union pluralism, and to alter the methods of cooperating with social organizations and youth. It was emphasized that the party should broaden and strengthen forces of the social left and pro-reformatory forces that cooperate with it. Many of the initiatives aim at transforming of the seats of the party into "PUWP houses," vibrant with public activity. The work of the party is becoming socialized, a revival of PUWP activity in the places of residence.

Participants in the voivodship conferences frequently expressed their anxiety as to the results of the unrest, strikes and extorted pay rises which are not justified by better efficiency of work, currently under way in Poland. They express their indignation at the demonstrations organized by aggressive groups of youth which changed into street brawls combined with acts of vandalism and anti-Soviet demonstrations. These are not ways leading

to national agreement, said delegates to PUWP conferences in support to the government moves against the violation of peace and order. The Political Bureau fully shares this stance of the participants in PUWP report conferences.

Comprehensive discussions and the creation of forms of pluralism must be accompanied by efficient, smooth work at all the levels and in all institutions of the state and the economic and local administration. Those who neglect their duties must be not only condemned but also suffer severe consequences. Among other moves, names of individual persons responsible for decisions to sharply rise prices of products on grounds of dishonest economic calculations, should be brought out to the public.

The economic situation of enterprises should be analysed, and the current data included in these reports should be presented to the crews.

Council of Ministers Raises Rents By 60 Percent

LD0103031389 Warsaw PAP in English 1941 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—Rents for municipal, factory and council flats will go up by an average 60 percent as of March 1 under a decree of the Council of Ministers.

Financial assistance will be granted to the least well-to-do families. The rent hikes are caused by growing exploitation and repair costs, and price hikes for building materials. Rents will nonetheless continue to constitute only a portion of real costs. In 1987 rents covered only 24 percent of the expenditures of People's Councils in this respect.

Rakowski Apologizes to General for War Wrongs

LD0103005489 Warsaw PAP in English 2306 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 28—The next issue of "PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY" weekly, dated March 5, brings a letter directed to Division General Stanislaw Maczek by Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The letter was handed on February 26 in Edinburgh, Scotland, by a journalist of the weekly WLODZIMIERZ KRZYZANOWSKI who had earlier interviewed the general. The letter was received by the 98-year-old, legendary commander.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski turns to General Maczek in his capacity of the prime minister of the Polish Government which—as it was put in the letter—is making most serious changes since the year 1944, transformations democratizing life in Poland.

"Among the many, very many issues I have to deal with, a predominant position is taken by the will to redress the wrong, that you, general, sustained in the past at the hands of Polish authorities," Rakowski writes.

"I deplore the way you, general, and your soldiers were assessed at the time. Despite numerous unjust assessments and decisions by the then Polish authorities you remained to us, my compatriots—a paragon of a patriot and a soldier."

"I would love to play host to you, general, on the Polish soil, during the observances of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two. I want to assure you that the Polish Government will welcome you with all due reverence, as a national hero. I think you cannot have any doubt as to how you will be welcomed by your compatriots, Polish society, the Polish nation.

"What, as prime minister, could I do for you to compensate, at least partially, the wrong and pain you sustained in the past," asks Rakowski in conclusion.

Mrs Zofia Maczek who conveyed the letter to her husband said: "We are moved with the beautiful contents of this message. It is a pity that it took half a century before we lived to see transformations in our homeland which may start to satisfy people like my husband."

Expressing thanks for the letter to Prime Minister Rakowski, Mrs Maczek said that for health reasons neither she nor her husband would visit their homeland. Here, in Scotland, our ashes will be interred, although Poland has always been on our minds. Now, at this moment, you will be hearing our last will. In the name of my husband and that of my own I ask you to convey to our compatriots cordial greetings and words of hope for our homeland to be open to all Poles irrespective of their political persuasions and place of residence, Mrs Maczek said.

Warsaw City Party Plenum Discusses Exports

AU2002191389 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Feb 89 pp 1, 6

[Andrzej Murat: "Warsaw Wants To Be a Place of Trade Contacts"]

[Excerpt] Yesterday's Warsaw PZPR Committee Plenum examined the Warsaw conurbation's role in foreign trade.

In 1988, Warsaw's exports, in terms of transaction prices, amounted to Z910.6 billion, which was 15.2 percent of the country's entire exports. Warsaw sold abroad goods and services worth R2.3 billion, or somewhat more than $1 billion, which is higher than last year.

One can assume that this year will be just as favorable, because customs tariffs have changed, there are new banks, and one no longer needs a concession to conduct foreign trade. [passage omitted]

However, the stance adopted by the committee said that exports cannot take place at the expense of the domestic market. They can only be the result of an intensification of production. The goals contained in the "Warsaw

2000" development report should be implemented in concert with our foreign partners. It is necessary to accelerate work on setting up a chamber of trade in Warsaw, the committee concluded.

* Miodowicz on Rakowski, Party, Union Division

26000310 Warsaw ZWIAZKOWIEC in Polish No 5, 29 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, OPZZ chairman and Politburo member, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Before Yet Another Bend in the Road" subtitled "Following the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] [Naleszkiewicz] Some among the party aktiv say that not so much the party as the Central Committee has betrayed the class-oriented trade union movement by its near recognition of Solidarity.

[Miodowicz] This has been said several times before in our history—in 1956 [October, workers' bread riots in Poznan]; in 1970 [massacre of workers in Gdansk]; and, last, in 1980 and 1981 [Solidarity established]. In those times the party, being in a difficult situation, forgot about its partner, that is, about the regime-sponsored trade unions. To be sure, in those times, trade unions served merely as a "top-to-bottom transmission belt," their situation was different, they implemented the party program, and they lacked a program of their own. I remember how unionists used to say: "Why do we need a program of our own? The party program is our program." That is why in my speech at the 10th Plenum I stated explicitly that this game won't do any more.

[Naleszkiewicz] Anxiety of this kind has also been voiced during trade union conferences in the past.

[Miodowicz] True. Consider for example the conference at the Nowotka Steelworks in the summer of 1984. At that time the OPZZ had not existed yet, and instead there were several trade union federations, and more than 600 unionists who had already succeeded in accomplishing a great deal at their workplaces were present in the auditorium. Even then it was said almost openly that this time the party will not succeed in dumping the reborn trade unions on the pyre along with its other troubles and sacrificial victims.

[Naleszkiewicz] But now in 1989 that is the impression it produces on the OPZZ aktiv.

[Miodowicz] Perhaps it is only an impression. I don't want to speak about the pyre and sacrificial victims, but, to say the least, that the near recognition of Solidarity by the party came as a surprise to us.

[Naleszkiewicz] But why is it that the party is giving such unpleasant suprises to the class-oriented trade unions, which after all emanate from the party itself?

[Miodowicz] This is probably due to the bad style of work of certain party elements. I don't like epithets such as "Stalinist" or its polar opposite "innovative." I don't like black-and-white judgments, because they are inaccurate. Nowadays the best way of "stabbing" a person is to accuse him of "Stalinism." The surprise you refer to was due to a style of work based on the feeling of infallibility. "We are right and we are convinced of it." If "we" are right, then everyone else is wrong! Therefore, the unionists, too, are wrong. Hence the approach to taking a positive position on pluralism.

[Naleszkiewicz] Were not the trade unions consulted?

[Miodowicz] Unfortunately, no. Since there are 7 million OPZZ members, they should have been consulted about issues that after all concern them.

[Naleszkiewicz] Are you against the recognition of Solidarity?

[Miodowicz] After all, the trade unions were the first to put forward the concept of face-to-face rapprochement. How many efforts I made to bring about a meeting with Walesa, how many troubles this has caused me. It was to take place on a friendly, handshaking basis. But when one extends one's hand, he is not supposed to knock the other man down with the other hand! For otherwise, what kind of extending the hand is that?

[Naleszkiewicz] People say that, in making this decision to recognize Solidarity, the party "spurned" the opinion of the trade unions, and certainly took away from them the initiative on matters within the competence of the trade union movement.

[Miodowicz] I would prefer the "taking away of initiative" to "spurning."

[Naleszkiewicz] This may be the polite way of putting it, but I bet that at plants and factories the aktiv and the people who dislike us are going to employ that other term.

[Miodowicz] You are right here.

[Naleszkiewicz] Aren't you afraid that our plant trade union organizations may perceive only one way out—reaching an agreement with Solidarity, even at the expense of an ideological capitulation? Then political differences will be blurred and the more radical movement, Solidarity, will absorb the liberals, that is, our trade unions?

[Miodowicz] I support reaching agreement. After all, we all must serve the working people. Any hard-and-fast division into "class-oriented" and Solidarity trade unions is of no benefit to anyone; I say so as long as overthrowing the system of society is not concerned. But I am afraid that reaching an agreement will be very difficult. First we have to iron out our differences and

only then can we reach an agreement. It may be that both sides will get radicalized, in the interests of working people at that. Except that our factories and plants cannot economically withstand pressures of this kind. It is said that this is what is happening at present at the Industrial Textiles Works in Fabianice. The wage demands are justified, but we may bankrupt the firm because of them.

[Naleszkiewicz] So then the strike remains the basic weapon.

[Miodowicz] Consider last year's strikes. Their scope was relatively limited, but what were their consequences? The laws ceased to be obeyed in general, meaning both penal law and the labor law code. Since that is so, people choose to strike as their sole weapon even though they could have negotiated instead. This does not look good. This points to the absence of a linkage between the methods used to protect the interests of working people and the existence, the rescue, of the workplace itself from which all derive a living. I believe that under any system of society the existence of the workplace is the basis for the attitudes of the trade unions as well.

[Naleszkiewicz] In this country a plant or factory may be officially shut down but it continues to operate.

[Miodowicz] True. The Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk was officially closed on 1 December 1988, we had thought. But then it turned out that it will be closed 2 years hence. And nobody believes that it will be closed then either. Supposedly, some deep restructuring was to occur, but....

[Naleszkiewicz] Why is it that despite this decision to recognize Solidarity you still remain a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo?

[Miodowicz] For a simple reason: Since everybody, including General Jaruzelski, has decided to make this concession, my resignation would have produced a strange impression. Why should Miodowicz stand out?

[Naleszkiewicz] But people keep saying, especially at the grassroots level, that your position in the Politburo is precarious. Are you comfortable in it?

[Miodowicz] Of course not.

[Naleszkiewicz] People feel that the party did not treat the class-oriented trade union movement in the right manner. Might not it seem therefore fishy for the chairman of that movement to remain a member of the leadership of this party?

[Miodowicz] I represent somebody's interests there. Not my own interests, because I have it damned difficult there. That is the truth. But I represent there the interests of the working people. Where else can I promote them if not at that high level where major decisions are made?

[Naleszkiewicz] You are not always effective there.

[Miodowicz] True, but because of my presence there I am at least a partner. Besides, at the plants and factories themselves, at the grassroots level, party members are and shall remain the partner of the trade unions. I mean not the party echelons but the party members, including those already belonging to our trade unions. I cannot act on my own, without allies.

[Naleszkiewicz] Your answer seems to prove the claim of the opponents that the trade unions are "party minded."

[Miodowicz] That is not so. Trade unions are looking for partners all around. So far it has been the party members who serve as our partner and are close to us. They overwhelmingly stand in our ranks. But trade unions are not the party! It is its members who belong to our movement.

[Naleszkiewicz] They are people with a like-minded view of the reality.

[Miodowicz] Of course. They would not understand it if I were suddenly to quit the Politburo at a time when the trend is toward a kind of integration—integration around the problems of the working people. In my speech to the 10th Plenum I adopted the approach of a metalworker assigned to trade union work, a workingman. I discussed what both the trade unions and the party should do on behalf of the working people. If this is not done, then we are alienated from workers. We may quarrel with the party, but nothing will come of it. This has happened before. We quarreled and the Messner government was toppled, but what ensued from it?

[Naleszkiewicz] Following a brief period of relative tranquility and acceptance of the program of the new government Prime Minister Rakowski is now clearly being attacked. Why?

[Miodowicz] During the plenum I did not attack Rakowski's government! I spoke to the party. But Rakowski's mind and temperament are such that he could not leave my speech without a riposte. He thought that some of the things I said could not be ignored and had to be rebutted. Perhaps that was why he made that speech.

[Naleszkiewicz] How do you account for his riposte?

[Miodowicz] It may be due to the old habits of rule by fiat and threats. But times have changed and I will not let myself be threatened and that is why there was a brief but important and heated discussion.

[Naleszkiewicz] What was it about, if you please?

[Miodowicz] I, Miodowicz, as the head of the trade unions and at the same time a member of the Politburo, am to discuss the interests of working people before that

supreme party body. I mean, people serving as the workforces of socialized labor establishments and institutions such as schools and the health service. I mean, the interests of the rank-and-file workers, of that majority of the working people.

[Naleszkiewicz] Arguments of this kind always mean raising the subject of wages, but these have been rising at a faster rate than output and the supply of consumer goods.

[Miodowicz] True. That is how it is seen from the top, and that is what statistics say. I am told that consumer "spending" is high. Agreed. It is indeed high, but only from the 1st until the 25th day of each month; in many families there is no "spending" between the 25th and the 1st days of the month, because they are broke! They try to fill this "gap" by borrowing, buying on credit, so as to somehow survive until the next 1st day of the month. This is where vision differs between the government's "objectivity" and our unionist "subjectivity."

[Naleszkiewicz] It is said that supposedly the OPZZ has accused the government of the "antiworker" nature of its policy.

[Miodowicz] Considering that the Rakowski government is only 3 months old, it is surprising that in such a short time it has conducted such a big propaganda drive. But as for us, we are waiting for it to produce results. This should happen any time now.

[Naleszkiewicz] Good or bad results?

[Miodowicz] That depends. The changes now under way mean that what is good for some is bad for others. I believe that the prime minister's reaction was rhetorical in nature, although my speech concerned the policy of the party leadership. It may be that Comrade Rakowski felt responsible for defending that policy and, as I understand it, he did not speak in his capacity as prime minister. Please note the manner in which we addressed one another—alternately as "thou" and as "Comrade," but never by the offices we hold. This kind of conversation and discussion is proper and principled when we understand that we both are party members and desire the party's good.

[Naleszkiewicz] Could not you reach an agreement in advance?

[Miodowicz] This is no longer the practice. We no longer reach agreements in advance. The trend nowadays is different. Unanimity leads to disaster. And so does infallibility.

[Naleszkiewicz] What is your opinion on the party's position on pluralism?

[Miodowicz] It is good that it was adopted. But it is bad that that position had not been first discussed within the party and within the trade unions. Within the party only the questions asked by Comrade Rakowski were discussed, but they were not discussed within the trade unions; although they concerned the trade unions, the trade unions were not consulted about them. By analogy, consider what it would be like if questions asked by Comrade Miodowicz concerning the party were discussed within the trade unions but not within the party. This should not be so. Getting answers to questions are not tantamount to consulting others. If the answers were 50 percent yes and 50 percent no, this means that they should have been followed by consultation. This also means that people are feeling great hopes and great doubts.

[Naleszkiewicz] What is your personal opinion about the legalization of Solidarity?

[Miodowicz] I believe that the time has come to discuss Solidarity openly. In the end, how did it happen that Lech Walesa gained national publicity? There was that invitation to the roundtable and there also was that television debate between him and myself.

[Naleszkiewicz] Why did not the OPZZ make any moves following that debate?

[Miodowicz] Because too much is happening outside our trade union movement. Our contacts with Solidarity weakened soon after their assumption. I have a grievance against Lech Walesa because he is in no hurry to commence the dialogue with the OPZZ, but that may be because so many interesting new parties want to join the negotiations, and on such interesting issues at that, that trade union affairs are no longer of interest to him. Perhaps he is now holding talks on governance? Or on superstructural matters?

[Naleszkiewicz] Is this the reason why you object to the proposed anticrisis pact between the regime and the opposition, a pact to be concluded over the heads of the trade unions?

[Miodowicz] Not so much over the heads of the trade unions as past them. We cannot discuss trade unions through mediators. This is not how we should negotiate; this is not in the interest of working people.

[Naleszkiewicz] Now that the PZPR has taken this position to recognize Solidarity, are you not afraid that some trade union organizations may become radicalized?

[Miodowicz] I said so during the part of the Central Committee plenum that was closed to the public. It is expected that our trade unions will react in two ways: surprise and sharp protests, followed by radicalization of the movement. There will be an escalation of struggle and demands. While we here at the OPZZ may either prattle or

speak the truth, strikes are going on in Fabianice and in Elblag, and more strikes may come; there may arise a wave of strikes. People feel increasingly threatened and insecure. Again we are facing the unknown.

[Naleszkiewicz] Another turn of the screw?

[Miodowicz] Yes.

[Naleszkiewicz] Is the party leadership taking this into consideration.

[Miodowicz] It has to.

Vice Premier Meets With USSR's Bogomolov

LD2202230589 Warsaw PAP in English 1945 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw Feb. 21—Vice-Premier Janusz Patorski today met with Professor Oleg Bogomolov of the World Economy Institute in Moscow, who is Mikhail Gorbachev's advisor.

Patorski told his guest about the major tasks facing the Polish economic reform and measures undertaken by the government in this direction.

Bogomolov described problems of the Soviet economy and ways and means to solve them.

Patorski Interviewed on Working Conditions Study

PM2202112489 Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 10 Feb 89 pp 3-4

[Interview with Deputy Premier Janusz Patorski by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl; date, place not given]

[Text] [Scholl] You recently created the Task Force for Quality of Life at Work. At its first meeting it was pointed out that the phrase "Life in the Workplace" would sound better than "Life at Work." Why should you, as premier, need such a task force?

[Patorski] From time immemorial all politicians have always needed advisers—people whom they could respect and trust. Apart from individual experts, I see the need for advisory groups. This is why I have created the two public task forces: the one you have asked about and the Task Force for Advancement in Technology and Management.

[Scholl] What advantages do you see in a team of advisers?

[Patorski] Within a group of a dozen or so people you can have a direct comparison of the views of practitioners and academics, managers and professors, practical researchers and theoreticians. The existing problems can be viewed simultaneously from opposite ends of Poland, at close quarters, or at a distance. In my opinion, such a comparison is essential if the government is to discharge its function properly under present conditions, which are teeming with unilateral viewpoints on a variety of phenomena. How very easy it is for us Poles to present an individual viewpoint that is particular to just one group, community, or region, as a universally held opinion and to back it up with "uniquely accurate" facts and figures! The latter are often completely divergent and sometimes mutually exclusive.

You ask why the Task Force for Quality of Life at Work—or, if you wish, "in the Workplace"—should be necessary. Well, my present brief in the government is to promote scientific, technical, and organizational advancement, whereas in the past I was involved in party work. It gave me an opportunity to make many observations which reinforced my fundamental confidence in people and my deep conviction that the majority of our fellow countrymen want to work effectively and efficiently, and that very many of them wish to "be" rather just to "do" during that third part of their life that is devoted to work; also, that they are happy when their effort results in creating something useful and something fine. Why should we not turn that potential to good use for the benefit of the individual, the economy, and the whole of society?

[Scholl] Today we tend to be discontented with practically everything around us, and positive quality of life seems something distant and unreal. Are you not trying to put cosmetic touches on an unattractive reality?

[Patorski] Provided they do not adopt a passive attitude, people who are discontented and impatient are our allies! Since we now see the future of our economy in successful individual and collective enterprise, we ought to appreciate those who are discontented. We ought to "propel" them to become creatively involved in a campaign to change the unsatisfactory state of affairs within their own companies. There are thousands of ways to do this, and we should allow the interested parties to decide themselves which methods to use. And we ought to publicize them—to advertise widely those which have proved effective. At the same time we should remove obstacles from their path. After all, it is not true that only wheeler-dealers can be successful in Poland! But this opinion is, unfortunately, very widespread.

Those at the helm of the economy are sometimes tempted to see the entire population as bad, lazy, dishonest, tending to shirk their responsibilities, and so forth. This is an outlook underlying a 19th-century model of the economy based on an hierarchic structure. There are many cases in which Frederic W. Taylor's ideas on management techniques are still applied today. According to these, the human being is merely a cog in the mechanism of the labor system and constitutes a component of its costs. That is why the command-directive system has taken such firm root in our economy and why supervision and control structures have developed to such an extent. This is also why economic

organizations' attempts to gain autonomy are so successfully frustrated. What is the result of it all? Poor work effectiveness—which must be blamed on the anonymity of work—combined with bureaucratization and excessive growth of administrative structures; also, work forces' insistence on making claims and demands which follow logically from the entrenched belief that employees are not responsible for anything whereas employers are responsible for everything and, consequently, should be the ultimate providers.

[Scholl] Are you truly and firmly committed to uprooting that system?

[Patorski] My commitment—although indeed firm—cannot really figure as the decisive factor here. The decisive factor is the policy pursued by the party and the government, the ultimate aim of which is to transform the status of our society into that of a fully autonomous partner in its own right.

In practice, however—and this we must clearly admit—the economic reform still lacks a "human face." I am not thinking here exclusively of its persistently poor market results or the chronically inferior quality of our daily life. I am thinking of the obstacles erected against human initiative, of the technical and organizational innovations which are still frustrated by regulations that are altogether too slow to disappear. These drawbacks were discussed in detail by the managers and pioneers of advanced forms of work organization invited to the first meeting of the Task Force for Quality of Life at Work.

Obsolete and inadequate but still widely applied procedures have by now become second nature not only to many managers at different levels but also to those who are thus managed. Working people still find it hard to believe that they could have any real influence on the planning process, production organization, the method of joint management of their enterprise, labor relations, ownership relations, and so on. They fail to take advantage of the paths already open to them.

[Scholl] I notice that among the members of the Task Force for Quality of Life at Work are directors of enterprises which have instituted partnership groups.

[Patorski] Indeed. I purposely asked Prof Stanislaw Rudolf of Lodz University to chair our Task Force. Not only is he an enthusiastic advocate of partnership as a form of work organization, but he has also done a lot of research into the highly promising area of the so-called democratization of industry. He sees partnership teams as the fist step toward a true socialization of enterprises. I share his belief that huge, inflexible, highly bureaucratized structures should be subdivided into smaller, organizationally and economically independent "enterprises within enterprises." The model of a large firm whose operational goals are too distant from the work force's awareness, from the reality of the direct producers, has not passed the test under Poland's actual conditions.

[Scholl] So is what we need a more "author-like" attitude of the working man to his work?

[Patorski] Yes. Such an attitude is simply essential, especially now that we are concentrating our efforts on restructuring the economy by promoting high technology and sophisticated industries and making better use of the achievements of modern, creative scientific thought.

I believe that this "author-like" attitude will be encouraged by the practice of economic pluralism. We will have a variety of competing forms of economic enterprises and methods of enterprise management such as joint ventures, combined enterprises, all kinds of holdings, individual and group contracts, partnership groups, quality groups, and so on.

[Scholl] Are workers self-management structures going to be removed from all the kinds of firms you have just listed? After all, they make a significant contribution to the quality of life in the workplace. They ensure that enterprises are managed on the basis of the collective principle and they give the work forces the status of joint stewards of their enterprises.

[Patorski] Opinions are, and will remain, divided on the lines on which self-management structures should be organized. It is possible that in some cases workers' councils will be replaced by councils composed of shareholders, community representatives, and members of the work force, but here we are concerned less with names or structures than with the principal issue in question: the employees' status as active partners and authors involved in planning and decisionmaking, originating initiatives, applying control measures, and so on. But we do not want to use legislation to enforce particular forms of socioeconomic entities or individual solutions. We should let the new ownership forms and management systems prove their value in the new type of enterprise. Thus we will not proffer uniform recipes for, say, the statute of a joint venture. Let it be worked out and decided—within the framework of the existing parliamentary legislation—in the enterprise itself. Let us seek and experiment!

At the moment the most pressing matter is the creation of a pro-reform lobby: a body of people who know each other and who are household names; who look beyond mere figures and indices when it comes to restructuring the economy; who take a serious and passionate interest in it and treat it as their lifework. Today we can already regard many associations as providing a public platform for the leaders to meet, exchange ideas, and compare experiences. In some cases such a platform is provided by party committees, which is a particularly valuable contribution.

I think we should encourage and promote all joint initiatives undertaken by groups of people who refuse to be immobilized by inertia and hopelessness. We should encourage and promote the creation of such groups not

only at government level but at all levels of administrative and economic structures. Such people thrust forward and win the race instead of trailing behind with the also-rans. Thanks to their talents and their resolution they can make our situation appear sunny even under the difficult conditions of the 1980's, under the overcast Polish sky.

Let us give them the opportunity to act, let us allow them to speak: Let us make space for them in the media—in the papers, on the air, in television programs—so they can act as advisers. And above all, let us not clip their wings. Let us not drag them back into mediocrity. Let us give them an opportunity to improve our life for the sake of us all.

[Scholl] Thank you for talking to me.

Crimes Commission Chairman Makes Statement

AU2002101689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Meeting Social Expectations Half Way"]

[Text] We have already reported that a Commission to Commemorate the Victims of the Repressions of the Stalinist Era has been set up, as a subsidiary of the Council for Preserving the Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom. PAP asked the commission's chairman, General of Division Roman Paszkowski, to explain its purpose.

[Paszkowski] The creation of the commission was in response to demands and expectations of society. We had many letters and heard many people talking about the need to thoroughly investigate events of the Stalinist era in Poland. We created the commission with the intention that it would collect information about the events of this era and about victims and their location, and consider ways of publicizing details about these victims, of whom young people know nothing or next to nothing. We would like to provide redress to survivors of that era, and to the relatives of those who died.

This is a very complicated problem, but the very fact that the commission has been created possesses great political and moral significance, and provides testimony to the changes taking place in our country. I also think that the commission's activity will serve to create effective mechanisms and barriers against any misuse of authority in the future.

The commission is attached to the Council for Preserving the Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom because of the nature of this institution, which commemorates the locations, people, and events of our national past. Of course, the point is not just to erect monuments or plaques, but mainly to publicize people and their deeds through literature, the cinema, art, radio, television, and the press.

It is too soon to say how the commission will perform its work, what exactly it will occupy itself with, and where its headquarters will be. The commission has not been constituted yet. A concrete program and work schedule will be established during internal discussion.

Most of those who have been invited to join the Commission are people with firsthand experience of that period, as well as representatives of various institutions which might be helpful in establishing the truth.

The members of the commission represent various milieus. They include soldiers who fought in September 1939, soldiers of the Home Army, members of the People's Guard, soldiers who fought in the Polish Armed Forces in the West and in the Polish People's Army, political party aktivists, and historians. I hope this team will use this good opportunity to take a calm and objective look at that period and its complicated problems, and at the causes and effects of the many divisions among our society. I also hope that many of the misunderstandings that have accumulated over the years will be resolved.

KULTURA Editor Interviewed on Emigre Affairs

LD1902145989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Excerpts] In conclusion to the review of the weeklies, we broadcast excerpts of a conversation with Jerzy Giedroyc, editor in chief of KULTURA [Polish emigree monthly] published in Paris. According to PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, this publication is a phenomenon amid the emigree publishers, taking into consideration both the stamina for survival and the level maintained. It functions as a champion of the emigre and unofficial currents of the Polish culture in the West. The periodical has gained large popularity among the emigres and various milieus in Poland. It print-run amounts to 10,000 copies. Despite that, on many occasions it had considerable financial troubles. In Poland, however, the Parisian CULTURA has for many years been assessed in the official press only through the political prism. At best, its existence was passed over with silence, at worst, it was treated as agents of the U.S. intelligence agency, the CIA. The interview with Jerzy Giedroyc was conducted by Maria Bugaj in Maisons Laffite near Paris, the site of the Kultura. Here are the excerpts:

[Bugaj] Sir, today's Poland is beginning to be an open state for all the Poles scattered all over the world. You have been an emigree for half a century. Do you not see the possibility and the need to visit the homeland?

[Giedroyc] I do not see such possibility. My visit to Poland would, in every respect, mean the recognition of the Polish PR Government. On this issue, my standpoint expressed in the KULTURA for years, is invariable.

[Bugaj] The Polonia Society would wish to transform itself into an association directed jointly by representatives of the state and the emigrees who are enjoying confidence. Already now it pronounces ever stronger with reference to the interests of the emigrants.

[Giedroyc] There are generalities; but I am interested in concrete matters. Much is said, laws are passed and the practice looks different. Despite the circular abolishing the prohibited books in case of the university libraries, copies of the KULTURA continue to fail to reach the addressees.

[Bugaj] If it had not been for the concrete matters, our conversation would probably still have been impossible. To cut the long story short, as a result of the changes taking place in the internal policy of the state, Polish borders have been opened for all the Poles from abroad and Poland; conditions have been created for the development of the Polonian business: the Polish culture created outside Poland is presented ever more widely and the links with the Polonia in the socialist countries have been established.

[Giedroyc] I know of the action in Poland to collect books for the Polonia in the Soviet Union. I even wrote on this issue to the Polonia Society giving proposals for books which should be sent to Belorussia and Lithuania. The action itself is, in my opinion, a miss. It is not the intelligentsia Polonia. Books of the kind of Kraszewski and Rodziewiczowna should be sent there, but one has to think whether or not to publish something especially for that region. Plenty of Poles in the Soviet Union do not speak Polish today, it would therefore be worthwhile to publish for them in the Russian language. [passage omitted]

[Bugaj] Do you not think that this is a subject of a very serious discussion within the frame of the Polish-Polonian roundtable? Would it not be possible to jointly work out a program, which would be accepted by all interested sides?

[Giedroyc] Among the emigrants in the West there is a good deal of mistrust which is very difficult to break. In my opinion after all, this is not the most important thing. The most important and the most urgent problems are connected with the Polonia in the countries of the People's democracies and in West Germany. [passage omitted]

[Bugaj] Would you be prepared to discuss it at the roundtable?

[Giedroyc] I will willingly talk on concrete matters, here in the Maisons Laffite. I am open for cooperation, but I will not change my political position.

Glemp Leaves for Rome; Comments on Roundtable

LD2402070789 Warsaw PAP in English
1646 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 23—Poland's Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp left for Rome this morning, accompanied by members of the Primatial Social Council, as well as by Wroclaw Metropolitan Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz and Bishop Kazimierz Majdanski from the Szczecin-Kamien Pomorski Diocese.

Asked upon his departure to contribute some reflections on the roundtable talks, the primate told newsmen:

"This is an unprecedented event, also in comparison with other countries. I think we will be able to assess it only from a certain perspective. This really is an immense effort of minds and will, undertaken to extricate the homeland from poverty, from crisis."

While in Rome, Cardinal Glemp intends to meet with rectors of Polish Catholic missions and with representatives of emigrant Polish Catholic intelligentsia.

Delegates Note 'Differences' Uncovered at CSCE

LD2202234689 Warsaw PAP in English
1901 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 21—Poland's Social Committee for Security and Cooperation in Europe met here today to assess the Vienna CSCE meeting. Two Polish participants in the forum were also present.

Jerzy Nowak from the Foreign Ministry and Adam Rotfeld from the Polish Institute of International Affairs stressed the immense role the Vienna meeting played in the process of European detente but also noted differences in views which emerged not only between the two political blocs, but also within each of them.

Nowak and Rotfeld also pointed to consolidation of human rights as an important aspect of the Vienna CSCE which determined that this is a matter of concern to all the 35 CSCE nations rather than an internal affair of particular states.

Science Cooperation Protocol Signed With PRC

LD2402042889 Warsaw PAP in English
1145 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing, Feb 23—Deputy Chairman of the State Commission For Science and Technology of the People's China Li Xue and Poland's Minister-Head of the Office for Scientific-Technological Progress and Application Zbigniew Grabowski signed on Wednesday [22 February] here a protocol specifying the scope of the Polish-Chinese cooperation in science and technology for the coming two years.

CPCZ's Lenart Visits for Talks on Cooperation

Arrives in Bucharest

LD2802120289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, arrived today in Bucharest for a working visit. The visit takes place at the invitation of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee. Shortly after his arrival, Czechoslovak-Romanian talks began in the Romanian Communist Party building.

Received by Ceausescu

AU2802202989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1958 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/02/1989—On Tuesday, 28 February, the general-secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium, secretary of the Central Committee [CC] of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

In this framework, President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed a warm salute and cordial wishes on behalf of the secretary-general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Milos Jakes, of the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak, and of Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec, of that country's party and state leadership.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and sent the Czechoslovak leaders, the party and state leadership of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic his warm salute and best wishes, and the Czechoslovak people wishes of prosperity and ever greater achievements in socialist construction.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the good evolution of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between the two countries and peoples, stress being laid on the decisive role of the summit meetings and talks in the further development of these traditional ties. At the same time, reference was made to the possibilities to further expand the Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation in political, economic, technical-scientific and other domains of activity.

Emphasis was placed during the talk on the importance of developing multilateral economic cooperation within CMEA, of improving the activity of this organization on socialist bases, for the good and benefit of every member country, of progress and cooperation among nations.

Current international issues were approached with stress on the need to strengthen the fight against the war threat, for disarmament and peace, as well as the solidarity of the communist and worker parties, of all the progressive forces that are for the peoples' independent development, for democracy, for a better and more just world.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and Ion Sirbu, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Further on Meeting

LD0103001589 Prague CTK in English 2114 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest Feb 28 (CTK correspondent)—Presidium member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart, currently on a working visit to Romania, was received here today by general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President Nicolae Ceausescu.

They talked about the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak and the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Parties.

During their talk Nicolae Ceausescu and Jozef Lenart pointed out the possibilities of further extension of bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, technological and other spheres. They underlined the significance of the development of multilateral economic cooperation in the framework of CMEA and improvement of CMEA activities on the socialist bases.

The Romanian and Czechoslovak representatives pointed out the necessity to intensify the struggle against the threat of war.

Jozef Lenart met also with alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Ion Stoianu and Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Ion Sirbu.

Further on Visit by Iranian President Khamene'i

Khamene'i Stand on Rushdie

LD2502210289 Tehran Television Service in Persian 1600 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Before leaving Romania today, President Khamene'i answered questions put to him by reporters. The president began by recalling the crimes committed by Salman Rushdie in writing the book "The Satanic Verses." He then referred to the hostile policies of some European countries. He said: Let me state clearly that such decisions will have no effect on our fundamental beliefs.

Asked about the future of Afghanistan, the president said: The future of that country belongs to the mujahidin. I hope that this will happen in a suitable manner.

Joint Communique Published

AU2502153889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Feb 89 p 5

["Joint Communique"—SCINTEIA headline]

[Text] The president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, paid an official visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania over 22-25 February 1989 upon the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, conducted official talks which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

During the talks the two state leaders informed each other of the economic and social achievements in their countries, examined the current stage and perspectives of bilateral relations, and effected a useful exchange of views on the major international problems.

The presidents of the two countries positively assessed relations between Romania and Iran in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other spheres of joint interest. Satisfaction was expressed at the upward course of those relations underlain by observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage.

Stress was placed on the deciding role of summit talks and on the importance of contacts at other levels in the development of ties in various domains, and willingness was expressed to expand collaboration between the two countries both bilaterally and internationally.

The presidents of the two countries expressed their determination to expand and diversify the fruitful Romanian-Iranian links of friendship and collaboration in various areas, and clearly defined the major course of their future evolution.

The two sides underscored the importance of boosting economic collaboration in order to raise the level of multifaceted relations between the two countries. To this effect, it was agreed that the relevant ministries and institutes in Romania and Iran, considering the economic potential of both countries, should establish contacts for a growing cooperation in production in the heavy industry, machine building, chemistry, petrochemistry, electrotechnology, energy, the transfer of technology, agriculture, transport, and other sectors. The need for a more dynamic increase of bilateral commercial exchanges on balanced terms was also emphasized .

Underlining the importance of continually growing bilateral ties in science and culture and education, for a better mutual knowledge of the two peoples' material and spiritual assets, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i agreed that the relevant bodies should begin talks on the conclusion of a program for the application of the accord on cultural and scientific collaboration existing between Romania and Iran.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran highlighted the significance of parliamentary contacts and agreed that the exchanges of visits on that line should be furthered and increased.

During the exchange of views on the current international situation, the presidents of the two countries noted with satisfaction that the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Islamic Republic of Iran had similar or close positions on the principal issues facing mankind.

The necessity was underscored that the principles of the international law—national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality of rights, non-interference in internal affairs, and non-recourse to the use and threat of force—be strictly observed in interstate relations.

The presidents of the two countries expressed their deep concern on the international situation which continues to be serious and complex. Taking into account that stockpiles of nuclear weapons are maintained, action is taken toward modernization and improving them, the policy of force and dictate, of interference in the internal affairs of other states, of violation of the peoples' right to free, independent, and dignified existence persists, the president of Romania and the president of Iran have been in favor of intensifying efforts on an international plane to put an end to such a state of affairs.

The two sides declared for the cessation of the arms race, the prohibition of the production, proliferation and stockpiling of nuclear and chemical weapons, and of all means of mass destruction, condemned the recourse in any form to such weapons, and pointed to the necessity of completely liquidating them.

Particular concern was shown for the use of the new technological advances in the manufacture of ever more sophisticated and devastating weapons, warning over the growing danger of the transfer of the arms race to outer space.

The two sides were also in favor of a substantial cut in conventional weapons and military spending.

The need to use the means obtained from disarmament measures in economic progress was also stressed, particularly that of the developing countries.

During the talks, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i examined the chief regional conflicts and stated for their just resolution by peaceful means, in the interests of the peoples in the respective areas, of peace and detente world-wide.

The two sides were in favor of further efforts toward greater security and cooperation in Europe. In this context, the need was underlined, to turn the Balkans into a zone of peace, collaboration, and good neighborliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, without foreign troops and military bases.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran spoke up for the full application of the Security Council resolution

598, noticed the efforts made by the UN and the UN secretary-general for the cessation of the Iran-Iraq conflict, and highlighted the need for the withdrawal of troops within the internationally recognized frontiers, for the continuation of talks aimed at solving the issues between the two countries, on the basis of the international law, for the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Gulf.

The two sides called for the dismantlement of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of other states. They were firmly against the presence of foreign military troops in the Gulf and in favor of their unconditional withdrawal from the area.

Romania and Iran back the Palestinian people's just cause, its fight for the achievement of its rights to self-determination, and declare for an equitable solution to the problems in the Middle East.

The two sides support the Lebanese people's fight for national sovereignty and independence, and for the maintenance of its territorial integrity.

The presidents of the two countries welcomed the measures regarding the settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, and called for a united, independent, and nonaligned Afghanistan in which the people can create their own destiny, without outside interference.

Romania and Iran condemn the apartheid policies promoted by the Pretoria regime, and condemned any show of domination and oppression of other peoples. They also support the liberation movements and the peoples' fight for independence and freedom.

The two sides believe that urgent action should be taken for a global solution to the underdevelopment problems, including the developing countries' foreign debt, as well as for the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity.

The presidents of the two countries assessed that the eradication of underdevelopment and the bridging of gaps between the poor and the rich countries were objective demands for the guaranteeing of progress and peace throughout the world.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran reiterated the importance of the non-aligned movement and its positive role in the resolution of international questions, in the assertion of a new policy of liberty and independence. In this context, the need for active participation, on an equal footing, of all the states, especially of the small and medium-sized ones, in the international life, as well as for the consolidation of their collaboration, was emphasised.

The two sides spoke up for a growing role and efficiency of the United Nations in the settlement of interstate conflicts and of the problems facing mankind today, and back the UN secretary-general's efforts along this line.

The presidents of the two countries appreciated the collaboration and consultations between Romania and Iran at the UN and in other international fora, and underscored the need to further promote such a cooperation in mankind's major problems.

At the end of the visit, the presidents of the two countries expressed their satisfaction at the results of the visit and the talks which go down as an outstanding contribution to further developing relations of friendship and mutually advantageous collaboration between Romania and Iran.

On behalf of the delegation and on his own behalf, the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, sincerely thanked the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the Romanian people for the cordial reception and warm hospitality they enjoyed during the visit, and expressed their appreciation for it.

The president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, invited President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania to pay an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit will be set through diplomatic channels.

Bucharest, 25 February 1989

Daily Assesses Visit

AU2802113189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1009 GMT 28 Feb 89

["Under the Sign of the Development of the Romanian-Iranian Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/2/1989—The official visit paid to Romania, at the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu, by president Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i of the Islamic Republic of Iran, went down as an important moment in the development of the links between the two countries. It ended with fruitful results written down in the joint communique released at the end of the visit, the daily SCINTEIA points out in a commentary. It goes on to say inter alia:

Romania and Iran are located in different continents but, in spite of the geographic distance which separates the two countries, their relationships boast a long and rich tradition. This fact is explained by the friendly feelings the two peoples nurture for each other and which are behind the many-sided collaboration based on the principles of equality of rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in home affairs and mutual advantage. Eloquent evidence of Romanian-Iranian cooperation is the construction in Iran of important industrial and agrarian units, the increase of the volume of trade exchanges, the intensification of contacts between factors in responsible posts in the two countries. During the Bucharest summit, the two presidents exchanged views on the stage and perspectives of the Romanian-Iranian links.

During the talks in Bucharest a number of understandings were reached of a nature to take to a higher stage the Romanian-Iranian collaboration. Thus, starting from Romania's and Iran's economic potential, from the experience amassed in the joint building of industrial units, the two countries' presidents decided that the relevant ministries and institutions in Romania and Iran should establish contacts to develop the cooperation in production in the heavy-duty industry and machine-construction, chemistry and petrochemistry, electronics, energy, transfer of technologies, agriculture, transport and other fields. The need was also stressed to increase more the bilateral trade exchanges, to intensify the cultural and scientific collaboration, to continue parliamentary contacts. In context, during the visit a memorandum of understanding was signed on the Romanian-Iranian collaboration in the political, economic, technico-scientific and cultural fields and it was agreed that the relevant organs should start talks to set a programme to apply the existing accord on cultural and scientific collaboration between Romania and Iran. All these will provide a favourable framework for the development and diversification of the Romanian-Iranian friendly and cooperative links in various fields, in keeping with the two peoples' wish to better know each other and to make their contribution to the promotion of world understanding.

Views were exchanged during the summit dialogue on issues of international life. Expressing their preoccupation about the obtaining in the world of grave and complex situations generated by the continuation of the arms race, nuclear in particular, of the policy of strength and dictate, of interference in other states' internal affairs, of violation of the peoples' right to free, independent and dignified existence, the two countries' presidents declared for intensified efforts on an international plane in order to end such states of affairs. Especially, emphasis was placed on the need for halting the arms race, banning the production, proliferation and storage of nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and all mass destruction means, branding the recourse, in any form, to such weapons that have to be completely eliminated. During the talks they also approached a string of issues related to the consolidation of peace, including the cessation of all conflicts and the settlement of the disputed issues in various parts of the world only by negotiations.

On that occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu greeted the cessation of the war between Iran and Iraq, assessing that everything possible had to be done in order to reach understandings conducive to the establishment of a lasting peace in the region, to providing conditions for the Iranian and Iraqi peoples' free, independent development. In turn, President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, presenting his country's view on the Iranian-Iraqi war, stressed that the acceptance of the Security Council Resolution No 598 by Iran was an effort toward the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. He assured the international community that Iran would make every effort, would take advantage of every opportunity for the establishment of peace in the region.

The summit dialogue emphasized also the similitude or closeness of the two parties' standpoints on a string of other important current aspects, such as the fair settlement of the Middle East issues, the backing of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples' just cause, the settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, the eradication of underdevelopment and the building of a new world economic order, the growing role of non-alignment in international life, etc.

The unfolding of the Romanian-Iranian talks disclosed once more the usefulness of the direct summit contacts, as a modality asserted more and more on an international plane for a better knowledge of mutual preoccupations, for boosting the relations in various domains. In this spirit, public opinion in Romania expresses the confidence that the translation into life of the decisions and understandings reached will lead to the further development of the collaboration between the two countries and peoples, to mutual benefit, in the interests of peace, independence and progress all over the world.

Geneva Envoy Attacks Hungary on Rights Probe

AU2802125489 Paris AFP in English
1227 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva, Feb 28 (AFP)—Romania launched a bitter attack on its Warsaw Pact ally Hungary here Tuesday following Hungary's pledge to support a United Nations probe into human rights abuses in Romania.

Romania's U.N. representative Gheorghe Dolgu said the attack on his country's human rights record here Monday by Hungarian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Gyula Horn had been "stage-managed" to distract attention from Hungary's own problems.

He said Hungary's "reactionary circles" were pursuing "irredentist aims" and "using the well-tried tactic of sowing discord between nations to divert the attention of Hungarians from the serious and complex problems with which their country is now confronted."

Mr. Dolgu said Romania's economic and political system was organised on "profoundly democratic bases". He said Romania favoured "dialogue" but would "reject any interference in our internal affairs, from whatever quarters".

On Monday Mr. Horn said he would support and even co-sponsor a Swedish resolution asking the U.N. Human Rights Committee to appoint a special investigator to draw up a report on abuses in Romania. Mr. Horn said Hungary had not had any prior consultation with Moscow before voicing support for the resolution.

The Soviet delegation has made no comment on the incident, the latest in a row which blew up between the two East bloc countries last year over Romania's alleged persecution of its ethnic Hungarian minority. Hungarian

criticism has been levelled particularly at a rural resettlement scheme ordered by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu involving the destruction of thousands of villages, including many inhabited for generations by ethnic Hungarians. Unconfirmed reports here said Bulgaria was also planning to back the Swedish resolution.

Manescu Visits Japan on Behalf of Ceausescu

Attends Hirohito Funeral

AU2402195389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo (AGERPRES) 24/2/1989—Manea Manescu, vice-president of the State Council of Romania, attended the state funerals for Emperor Hirohito of Japan on February 24 on behalf of Romania, as personal representative of President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Meets Emperor Akihito

AU2502155589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1405 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 25/2/1989—Emperor Akihito of Japan received Manea Manescu, vice-president of the State Council, who attended the funeral of former Emperor Hirohito, as personal envoy of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On the occasion, a message of condolences from President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed to Emperor Akihito, to the imperial family and to the Japanese Government and people. The emperor thanked and expressed the deep gratitude for the feelings of compassion conveyed by the president of Romania.

Telegrams Sent to Kuwaiti Amir on National Day

Ceausescu Message

AU2702150589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Feb 89 p 6

[Telegram by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Amir Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, chief of state of the State of Kuwait, on Kuwait's national day]

[Text] To His Highness, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, amir of the State of Kuwait,

On the national day of the State of Kuwait, I take pleasure in extending to you—on behalf of the Romanian people and myself personally—heartfelt congratulations and best wishes for personal health and happiness and for the friendly Kuwaiti people's well-being and progress.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

Dascalescu Message

AU2702150689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Feb 89 p 6

[Text] Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, sent a telegram to Shaykh Sa'd al'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, prime minister of the State of Kuwait, on Kuwait's national day. In his telegram, Constantin Dascalescu extends congratulations and best wishes to the Kuwaiti prime minister.

Ceausescu Sends Birthday Message to DKP's Mies

AU2702093289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Feb 89 p 5

[Cable from President Nicolae Ceausescu to DKP Chairman Herbert Mies on his birthday]

[Text] To Comrade Herbert Mies, DKP chairman

On your 60th birthday, I want to extend, on behalf of the RCP and on my own behalf, warm congratulations and best wishes for good health and happiness, as well as wishes for successes in the highly responsible activity you are carrying out in the DKP leadership.

I want to express the conviction that relations of friendship and solidarity between the RCP and DKP will continue to develop to the benefit of our common interest in the cause of socialism, peace, security, and international cooperation.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

North Korean Delegation Visits; Meets Sirbu

AU2802131789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1237 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/2/1989—Upon the invitation of the Central Committee [CC] of the RCP, a delegation of activists of the Korean Workers' Party, led by Han Ki-hwan, deputy head of section at the CC of the Korean Workers' Party, paid a swap-of-experience visit to Romania, over 22-28 February 1989.

The delegation had interviews at the Central Council of Worker Control on Economic and Social Activity, the National Committee for Science and Technology, the Academy of Sociopolitical Studies under the CC of the RCP. The Korean guests visited economic units and sociocultural establishments in Bucharest.

At the end of the visit, the delegation of activists of the Korean Workers' Party was received by Ion Sirbu, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Olteanu Receives Polish Activists on Visit

AU2502155689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1402 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 25/2/1989—Over 20-24 February 1989, a delegation of activists of the Polish United Workers' Party [PUWP], led by A. Czyz, head of the ideologic section of the CC [Central Committee] of the PUWP, paid a swap-of-experience visit to Romania, at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

The Polish guests had talks at the CC of the RCP, the Bucharest City RCP Committee and the Galati County RCP Committee, visited economic enterprises, socio-cultural institutions and establishments in the capital city and in Galati municipality.

At the end of the visit, the delegation of PUWP activists was received by Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The talk conducted on the occasion was attended by M. Szczerski, charge d'affaires ad-interim of the Polish People's Republic in Bucharest.

Officials Attend Soviet Army-Navy Day Reception

AU2302185389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1647 GMT 23 Feb 89

["On the Anniversary of the Day of the Soviet Army and Navy"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/02/1989—On the 71st anniversary of the day of the Soviet Army and Navy, the USSR ambassador in Bucharest, Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, gave a reception on Thursday, February 23.

In the attendance were deputy heads of section at the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, executives of the Ministry of National Defence and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representatives of ministries and central institutions, generals and officers, party and state activists, journalists.

Also present were heads of diplomatic missions and military, air and naval attaches accredited in Bucharest.

Milea Sends Telegram Marking GDR Army Day

AU2802203489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1938 GMT 28 Feb 89

["On the Anniversary of the Day of the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/02/1989—The minister of national defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Colonel-General Vasile Milea, sent the minister of national defence of the German Democratic Republic, Army General Heinz Kessler, a congratulatory telegram on the 33rd anniversary of the day of the National People's Army of the GDR.

On the same occasion, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Luderfinger, military, air and navy attache of the GDR to Bucharest, met with soldiers in a garrison of the Romanian Army and spoke about the significance of the event celebrated.

An exhibition of photographs presenting images from the life and activity of the soldiers of the National People's Army of the GDR was also arranged and a film was shown.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 18-24 Feb

AU2502192089

[Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during 18-24 February period (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

President Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee, Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Gheorghe Paraschiv, minister of finance, and Eugeniu Radulescu, minister of machine building, conducted official talks with a delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran led by Iranian President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1645 GMT 23 Feb 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed Iranian President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i on arrival, in Bucharest on 22 Feb (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 22 Feb 89); the same day, Ceausescu and the Iranian president held a first round of talks (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1937 GMT 22 Feb 89)89). On 23 February, Ceausescu began official talks with Iran's Khamene'i in Bucharest (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 23 Feb 89) and made a speech at an official dinner in honor of the Iranian president (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1919 GMT 23 Feb 89). On 24 February, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i concluded official talks in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 24 Feb 89)

Manea Manescu, PEC member and vice president of the State Council, attended the funerals of Japanese Emperor Hirohito, in Tokyo on 24 February. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 24 Feb 89)

Barbu Petrescu, mayor general of Bucharest, accompanied Iranian President Khamene'i on a visit through Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1214 GMT 23 Feb 89)

Tudor Postelnicu, candidate PEC member and minister of interior, met with CPC General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, in Beijing on 21 February. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1710 GMT 22 Feb 89)

LCY Issues Communique on Internal Strife

LD2802214389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2036 GMT 28 Feb 89

["Communique From the Extraordinary Session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Considering the current political situation in the country and the LC tasks, including the demands made at public meetings, the LCY Central Committee Presidium has concluded:

1. A consistent and resolute struggle for the implementation of the LC stances and conclusions on Kosovo is essential. In implementing them there should not be, nor can there be, compromises or giving in;

2. The LCY Central Committee Presidium, as previously, supports the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia and requests that they be adopted as soon as possible so that the SR of Serbia might be able to realize its functions and authority throughout its entire territory;

3. The LCY Central Committee Presidium cannot accept the method of blackmail and pressure in cadre policy for the purpose of achieving political and other goals. The LC Central Committee Presidium supports all the true and real campaigners for the implementation of LCY policy concerning Kosovo, and this must be the basic criterion for assessing the enforced resignations of Comrades Morina, Azemi, and Sukrija.

The LC organs, on the basis of reasoned arguments and facts, will consider these resignations and adopt appropriate decisions, accompanied by the comprehensive and responsible examination of all circumstances, causes, and consequences which serve to strengthen unity and stabilize intranational relations and the ensuring of the decisive implementation of LCY policy on Kosovo.

4. The LCY Central Committee Presidium requests that the competent state organs immediately take all legal measures against the organizers and exponents of behind-the-scenes policy in Kosovo, who used pressure and even abused the lives and health of the Stari Trg miners to achieve goals running counter to LC and SFRY policy.

5. The LCY Central Committee Presidium fully supports the decision of the SFRY Presidency on the introduction of special measures in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, which ensure the legal and property security of all citizens and the effective functioning of all the institutions which are of vital interest for life and work in the Province of Kosovo, as well as the elimination of the causes and consequences of the unfavorable situation in Kosovo.

6. In connection with the Belgrade University students' demands concerning the responsibility of the president and secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Presidium states that they can be responsible only in the framework of the collective responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, something which is assessed by the LCY Central Committee.

The Presidium insists that the ideopolitical action throughout all of the LCY be conducted in a united, consistent, and responsible way and that an end be called immediately to the harmful confrontation and divisions. In this way, a contribution can be made to the stability of the development of our Yugoslav Socialist community on the bases of socialist self-management and full national equality.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium energetically rejects the publicly expressed accusations that some narrow political bodies of the SR of Croatia and the SR of Slovenia are supporting the Albanian nationalists and separatists. The Presidium and the LCY Central Committee will have special discussions on all the phenomena of unprincipled stances, behavior, and confrontation in the LCY, the communique from the LCY Central Committee Presidium session concludes.

Federal Chamber Joint Assembly Session Opens

LD0103112189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1039 GMT 1 Mar

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—A joint session of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces has opened in the SFRY Assembly, devoted to the activities and tasks of the assembly in connection with the current situation in the country. The introductory speech on this will be made, in the closed part of the session, by SFRY Presidency member Lazar Mojsov, and FEC Vice President Janez Zemljaric. [passage omitted]

Massive Anti-Albanian Rally Held in Belgrade

Tomic Supports Demands

LD2802123989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1142 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Dragan Tomic, president of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference, proposed to the participants in the meeting outside the SFRY Assembly—and this was supported and accepted with stormy applause—that all demands made today by workers and students be adopted, and that a special delegation submit them to the top party and state leadership. [passage omitted]

Dragan Tomic called in particular for the accountability of Suvar and Korosec to be established, because they allowed trusted Communists to be replaced, because they passed over the formation of political parties, (?and because) the Slovene leadership is supporting demands for a Republic of Kosovo.

Dragan Tomic, among other things, called for their demands to be fulfilled immediately. The gathering is continuing and is awaiting a reply, he said outside the SFRY Assembly.

Tomic Statement Cited

AU2802155889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1456 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Statement by Dragan Tomic, president of the Belgrade SAWP, concerning the demands expressed at the rally in front of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 28 February—live]

[Text] At the beginning of our meeting, we read the demands of the participants in this meeting, which were addressed to the leaderships of the SFRY and Serbia.

Please pay attention. Let me read this to you. Let me read you the first results of the demands which you have made. At the beginning of our meeting, we read the demands of the participants in the meeting which were addressed to the leaderships of the SFRY and Serbia. [Tomic repeats himself]

Allow me now to inform you about the official stands of these organs concerning our demands.

The SR of Serbia and its socialist and state organs accept all the demands raised at the meeting [prolonged applause, indistinct chanting] and firmly stand on the line of their realization. The meeting was informed of this by Comrade Bogdan Trifunovic immediately after the demands had been read.

In regard to the demands sent to the federal organs, I inform you that during this meeting here, a delegation of the people attending the meeting held a talk with the representatives of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Concerning the questions, which are in the sphere of competence of the SFRY Presidency, the following stands have been adopted:

First, in regard to the question of the accountability of the organizers of the November and subsequent demonstrations in Kosovo, the Presidency has undertaken all the necessary measures and is currently in the process of assessing who the organizers of the demonstrations are [indistinct shouting, chanting]—demonstrations based on separatism and nationalism [indistinct shouting]—and all legal measures and sanctions will be taken against them. The public will soon be informed about the outcome of this action. [boos, indistinct chants]

Second, concerning the appearance of political parties in our country, the SFRY Presidency is of the opinion that founding political parties in our country is at variance with Yugoslavia's constitutional system and within the framework of its rights and obligations, the SFRY Presidency will ask the corresponding state bodies to treat such phenomena in conformity with the law and Constitution. [indistinct chanting]

Third, concerning the changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, the Presidency took a clear position about this matter several times, and remains at this position today. This position is that the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia must be concluded as soon as possible, with the adoption of amendments that are endorsed in the Assembly of the SR of Serbia.

Concerning demands voiced at this meeting that the LCY Central Committee Presidium should adopt the clear stance that it will not allow Comrades Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija, the proven unrelenting fighters for the implementation of the LCY policy in Kosovo, to be replaced under the pressures of Albanian nationalists and separatists, the session of the LCY Presidium has been convened for 1600 [1500 GMT]. We shall wait and see what the (?stances of) the LCY Presidium are, and will inform the participants of this meeting. [interrupted by people singing the national anthem]

Comrades, concerning your demands that Comrade Slobodan Milosevic should come, I inform you that Comrade Slobodan Milosevic is attending the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which is discussing the demands voiced at this meeting.

Dizdarevic Urges Unity

AU2802140389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1258 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Speech by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, at the protest rally held in front of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 28 February—live]

[Text] Comrades, I address you on behalf of the SFRY Presidency. I know that you were brought here by your concern for Yugoslavia [cheers] and that you and all of us together are concerned about the survival of the SFRY, [cheers and applause] and the unified [chants of "Yugoslavia"], brotherly, and equal community of all citizens, all working people, all peoples, and all nationalities living on this territory. We have gathered here to express not only our discontent and protests, but also our resoluteness to defend this thing for which 1.7 million people have given their lives. There will be no capitulation before someone who calls into question what has been built on the bones of this country's sons and daughters.

I can tell you that during all those days that were difficult to live through, the SFRY Presidency constantly performed its duties and responsibilities, and that it will continue to do so. [applause]

It is the responsibility [Dizdarevic is interrupted by chants of "Yugoslavia" and applause] and concern of all of us and the obligation and responsibility of the SFRY Presidency to defend this country's set-up, which has been established by the Constitution; to defend this country's social order established by the Constitution; and to defend and cherish law and order and the security of every citizen in every part of this country. [cheers and applause]

Yugoslavia.... [interrupted by indistinct chanting followed by a shout of "Speak!"] You said that we should embark upon work. Please, let me tell you [interrupted by indistinct chanting], comrades, we shall not follow the road of making peoples quarrel, we shall follow the road of renewing brotherhood and unity [shouts of "That is right"], the brotherhood and unity of the peoples of Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, Vojvodina, Kosovo, and Croatia, all peoples and nationalities in all republics and provinces [word indistinct] those who make us quarrel and who bring us into this situation. [indistinct shouting]

Comrades, I am not only saying this to you, but to all of Yugoslavia. You said that we should turn words into deeds, but let me tell you, please let me, let me [Dizdarevic repeats himself] read to you what we are implementing.

The SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Presidency [Dizdarevic repeats himself] has, proceeding from the assessment that the situation has further deteriorated in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and that there are activities which threaten the order established by the SFRY Constitution, ordered [indistinct chanting], the Presidency has ordered [Dizdarevic repeats himself] that special measures be undertaken in order to protect the constitutional order, public order and peace, personal safety and property, the security of all citizens, and socially owned property, especially of those objects that are of vital importance for living in Kosovo, Serbia, and the country, and to ensure the normalization of work, organization, return to work, and work duties. This is being done. [indistinct shouting, followed by chanting "Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia"]

The measures that we have undertaken, that are being carried out, and that will be carried out will be continued until everybody in Kosovo is safe. These measures must also prevent the emigration, ensure the return of those Serbs and Montenegrins that have emigrated [applause], they must ensure safe living to all [indistinct shouting]. Please, when we speak of [word indistinct] Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia can only be a fraternal community for all. Only in this way can we jointly survive, because we came into being jointly [applause].

Of course, we must correct everything that, we must correct everything that [Dizdarevic repeats himself] causes problems [indistinct shouting and chanting], we must correct all mistakes, everything that has been hindering us in preserving togetherness and brotherhood and unity. We must finally bring the changes to the Serbian Constitution to an end. [shouts of approval]

Comrades, problems are difficult [indistinct shouting] Comrades, the problems that we have to solve are difficult. We can solve these problems only through unity, only through a joint effort, only if we respect each other, and if we are harmonious and full of solidarity in our efforts. [indistinct chanting]

Comrades... [Dizdarevic is interrupted by indistinct chanting] Comrades, let us not be divided, do not let anybody divide us. Let us do nothing that can divide us. [chants of "Yugoslavia" followed by indistinct chanting] The people who divide us should be thrown out. Comrades, do not let any one of us do anything that will divide us, because we are strong as Yugoslavia and we are a complete zero without Yugoslavia. All of us and each one of us (?wherever he is) is responsible for Yugoslavia. We shall not and let us not allow nationalists, irredentists, separatists, anticommunists, [booing] take advantage of this situation. [Word indistinct] we have written down into the SFRY Constitution that nobody has the right to accept capitulation or to accept or admit occupation. Yugoslavia and we all, comrades, you all and all those people throughout Yugoslavia, your fellow citizens in this country, we all do not want to and must not allow capitulation in the face of anyone who is destroying the SFRY, who is destroying our togetherness, our brotherhood and unity, and our democratic road of development. [indistinct chanting]

Comrades, there will be no capitulation in the face of those people who undermine the unity of this country and there will be no capitulation in the face of anything that is harmful to this country. The SFRY Presidency is undertaking and will undertake all necessary measures permitted by the law and Constitution, with a view toward defending this Yugoslavia, this system, and the security of all peoples in this country, and it will defend all that.

Long live the SFRY [shouts of "long live" followed by applause and indistinct chanting].

Trifunovic Reassures Crowd

LD2802171589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Talking to the people at a meeting in front of the SFRY Assembly, Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP, said that the republican leadership supports all demands of the meeting and it will fight for their implementation.

These demands are demands for socialism, a united Yugoslavia, and for finding a way out of the crisis. There are no hesitations and no deviations, Trifunovic said.

He said that he is convinced that the demands would be considered by the top federal organs and that Serbia would fight for their acceptance. He told the meeting that sessions of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee are forthcoming.

Crowd Estimated at 700,000

LD2802141989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1311 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, February 28 (TANJUG)—Some 700,000 Belgrade workers, youths, students and citizens gathered in front of the Assembly of Yugoslavia today to protest new manifestations of chauvinism and separatism by part of the ethnic Albaninans in Kosovo province.

The crowd gathered at the initiative of Belgrade university students.

The separatism was strongly manifested over the past week when Albanian separatist forces organised an underground strike by ethnic Albanian miners in Kosovo's Trepca zinc and lead mines to force the resignations of three leading Yugoslav-oriented Kosovo officials.

Belgrade inhabitants are being joined by people from Novi Sad and other towns in Serbia. They are carrying banners reading "Workers of Yugoslavia, topple your bureaucrats from the factories to the federation", "Long live brotherhood and unity", "The Yugoslav peoples are brotherly peoples", "The people believe the Serbian leadership". [passage omitted]

Presidency Reacts to Demands

LD2802201789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's state Presidency has positively reacted to the majority of claims by participants in the Belgrade rally while all organs of the Republic of Serbia have accepted these demands and asked for their implementation.

This has just been told to citizens, workers and students gathered at the latest post-war meeting in Belgrade, attended by a million people.

To the demand for determining the responsibility of the organisers of the November and the latest demonstrations by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, the Yugoslav Presidency replied that the determination of responsibility for them is underway and that all measures and legal sanctions are being taken against the bearers of the demonstrations from the positions of separatism and nationalism, adding that the public will soon be informed.

It was also announced that the establishment of political parties in Yugoslavia is incompatible with the constitutional order of the country and that the state Presidency will insist on competent authorities taking all measures against such manifestations.

This was the reply of the state Presidency to the demand for the establishing the responsibility of Communist Party leader Stipe Suvar and Central Committee Presidency Secretary Stefan Korosec for passing over the anti- constitutional formation of political parties in the country.

The state Presidency insists on ending the changes in the Constitution of Serbia as soon as possible. One of the main demands of the Belgrade rally was that amendments to the Constitution of Serbia be adopted as soon as possible so that the republic could regain jurisdiction throughout its territory including its provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo.

The Presidency is currently discussing the demand by the Belgrade rally not to allow the replacement of the new Kosovo party leadership led by Rahman Morina.

The rally will not disperse until it hears the Presidency's decision on this matter.

The participants were told that Serbian party chief Slobodan Milosevic was unable to address them because he was attending the LCY Central Committee Presidency session discussing the demands of the citizens, workers and students assembled at the rally.

LCY Stances Read to Crowd

AU2802212689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2007 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Statement of the LCY Central Committee Presidium read by Dragan Tomic, president of the Belgrade SAWP, in front of the SFRY Assembly building in Belgrade on 28 February—live]

[Text] Comrades, I will read to you the statement... [loud whistling] I will read to you the statement from the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Considering the current political situation in the country and the tasks of the LC, including the demands made at public meetings, the LCY Central Committee Presidium has concluded:

First, a consistent and resolute struggle for the implementation of the stands and conclusions of the LC on Kosovo is essential. [loud cheers and whistles] There should not and cannot be any compromises or concessions in their implementation;

Second, the LCY Central Committee Presidium supports the changes in the Serbian Constitution, as they have done up to now. [loud indistinct chanting] The LCY Central Committee Presidium supports the

changes in the Serbian Constitution as it has done up to now. [chanting of the word "betrayal"] Comrades, Comrade Slobodan Milosevic will come. Please, comrades, Slobodan Milosevic will come as we promised [loud cheers]. Now we are asking that until Comrade Slobodan Milosevic arrives—he is on the way—you listen to the statement of the LCY Central Committee Presidium concerning the demands that we presented here [loud indistinct chanting].

I can inform you that the LCY Central Committee Presidium has accepted the demand concerning the resignations of comrades in Kosovo. Allow me to read their stand.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium cannot accept the method of blackmail and the exertion of pressure [word indistinct] policy for the sake of the achievement of political and other aims. The LCY Central Committee Presidium supports all real and true fighters for the implementation of the policy of the LCY on Kosovo, and this must be the basic criterion for (?working out) the forced resignations of Comrades Morina, Azemi, and Sukrija. On the basis of reasoned argument and facts, LC organs will analyze these resignations and take the appropriate decisions [words indistinct] [loud whistling] of all circumstances, causes, and results in line with [loud chanting] the strengthening of brotherhood and unity, the stabilization of interethnic relations [whistling], and the provision of the resolute policy of the LCY on Kosovo.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium demands that the competent state organs immediately take all legal measures against the organizers and proponents of [word indistinct] policy in Kosovo who have used pressures and even exploited the lives and health of the Stari Trg miners, in order to achieve their aims against the policy of the LC and against the SFRY.

Fifth, in connection with the demand of the Belgrade University students concerning the responsibility of the president and secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Presidium states that they can only be responsible within the context of the collective responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. This is assessed by the LCY Central Committee. [loud whistling] The Presidium insists that ideopolitical action in all of the LCY should be carried out in a united, consistent, and responsible way, and that (?harmful) confrontations and divisions stop immediately, thereby contributing to the stabilization of the development of our Yugoslav socialist community on the basis of socialist self-management and full national equality.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium energetically rejects public accusations that parts of the narrower political bodies of the SR's of Croatia and Slovenia are giving support to Albanian nationalists and separatists [loud shouts and whistles]. The LCY Central Committee Presidium will particularly discuss these occurrences of unprincipled stands, behavior, and confrontation in the LCY.

I ask that you wait for Comrade Slobodan Milosevic in an orderly way. [loud, indistinct shouting]

Milosevic Delivers Address

AU2802213089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2025 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, in front of the SFRY Assembly building in Belgrade on 28 February—live]

[Text] Comrades, comrades, this meeting is demonstrating that this country cannot collapse and that it will never collapse [indistinct cheers]. This country will never collapse because the people will not allow it to. [indistinct chanting]

The people do not need any guarantees, they are the strongest force and the biggest guarantee. [chanting of "Slobo," "Slobo"]

Comrades, I would like to assure you that, as has been the case up to now, we will fight firmly and jointly, with all of you, with all the citizens of the SR of Serbia, with all honest people in Yugoslavia, so that peace, order, justice, and equality are reinstated in Kosovo and in every part of our country. [indistinct cheers]

Comrades, [indistinct chanting, singing] comrades, there is no price or force that can undermine the Serbian leadership and the citizens of Serbia in their fight for just causes. [indistinct chanting]

Comrades, be assured, be assured, as I am convinced that in the fight for justice, equality, socialism, and Yugoslavia, every Yugoslav, regardless of his nationality, in every one of our republics all our peoples and nationalities. [sentence as heard]

We and you have shown that we will not allow the cadres who consistently fight for the LC policy in Kosovo to be destroyed. We will show by all the other demands which are in the interest of truth and justice and the struggle for equality, unity, and socialism, how much strength we have in the struggle when it comes to justice. [indistinct chanting]

Comrades, we are facing immediate constitutional changes, and the solution of all questions that concern Kosovo is before us; we are facing a major economic reform which will facilitate progress for all people in our republic and country. For this, everyone must give his full contribution to his country, family, and his people. [indistinct chanting]

I know, as you all know, that as up to now, unity between the leadership and the people of Serbia will be firm in achieving the aims we have set ourselves. [indistinct chanting]

I would like to tell you that—I cannot hear properly, but I want to reply to your demands—all the names will be announced soon. [indistinct chanting] I would also like to tell you that those who used the people and manipulated them in order to achieve political aims against Yugoslavia will be punished and arrested.

I guarantee you this on behalf of the leadership of the SR of Serbia. Nobody can escape punishment for committed deeds. This is what is going to happen, and nothing else. [indistinct chants]

And now comrades, and now comrades from Belgrade, we must take care of our nice city Belgrade; we must protect it. Today you had a great political day. I beg you to end this day in the way in which the day started, in the way which is appropriate for the citizens of Belgrade and all citizens of the SR of Serbia. I greet you convinced that we will together achieve the aims we are jointly fighting for, because these aims are aims of justice and freedom. I greet you all.

Rally Begins To Disperse

LD2802213289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1931 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—Students at the Belgrade protest rally have addressed a call to the League of Communists of Yugoslvia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency to send a reply to the demands set earlier today as speedily as possible, as it would otherwise bear the burden of responsibility for the further course of the rally, as the students' patience is at an end.

The participants in the rally have demanded from the LCY CC Presidency not to accept the resignations of high Kosovo party officials which had been called for by the ethnic Albanian miners who ended their week-long underground sit-in yesterday.

There are about 15,000 people still at the rally.

The participants in the rally started dispersing about 17:00 local time (16:00 GMT) after they were told that the state Presidency had accepted most of their demands and that all organs in the Republic of Serbia would insist that they be realized in practice.

The rally was started last night by students living in the Belgrade student city. They were joined this morning by workers from Belgrade's industrial suburb of Rakovica, and later by many Belgraders and secondary school students, bringing the number of protesters to around one million.

The Belgrade rally expressed full support to Yugoslavia's state and party Presidencies and the Presidency of the Kosovo Party Provincial Committee headed by Rahman Morina, in the implementation of all the measures provided by the Yugoslav Constitution for the preservation of the order in the country.

President of the Belgrade war veteran organization Pero Lalovic set out his organization's views at the rally, saying that post-war Yugoslavia had never been more endangered by an internal enemy.

Lalovic said that Belgrade war veterans assessed that an intervention of the Yugoslav Army was necessary in order to preserve the constitutional order and the unity of all nations and nationalities, especially in Kosovo.

He pointed out to the dangerous manipulation with the ethnic Albanian miners, who spent eight days inside a pit demanding the resignations of high Kosovo party officials and expressing opposition to constitutional changes in Serbia.

Lalovic said that the miners had been pitilessly pushed into the pit like guinea pigs with the purpose of realizing anti-Yugoslav aims.

The headquarters of the counter-revolution in Kosovo has the moral and political support of certain powerful circles in Croatia and Slovenia, he said.

About forty people sustained slight injuries at the rally owing to the pressure of the crowd. It has also been announced that one policeman was seriously hurt.

Serbs, Montenegrins Come to Belgrade To Protest

LD0103084689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0608 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—Several hundred citizens of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality from Kosovo arrived here today at about 0630 by train. Groups of Serbs and Montenegrins are also arriving at the railway station from Kosovo in buses and cars, and another train is expected to arrive from Kosovo.

Their meeting point is Belgrade railway station, and they will then set off for the SFRY Assembly, according to the organizers. They have come to Belgrade to express their dissatisfaction with the situation in the province and the country, and are particularly disturbed at the latest pressures by Albanian nationalists and separatists on Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate.

More Kosovo Citizens Arrive

LD0103095189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0904 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—About 2,000 Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins have arrived by train from Pec at Belgrade railway station. They are being joined by groups

of Serbs and Montenegrins who arrived earlier this morning. They have decided to go to the SFRY Assembly building—they did not accept a proposal by the Belgrade leadership to go the Trade Union Center. Mitar Samardzic, an activist from Kosovo Polje who last night called on Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to come to Belgrade, said they will stay here until their main demand—that the situation in Kosovo be changed—is met.

They are heading to the SFRY Assembly, carrying flags and singing, and are being greeted by the citizens.

Gather Outside Assembly

LD0103102189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0955 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—Several thousand Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, who, during the course of last night and this morning have traveled to Belgrade, arrived at about 1000 outside the SFRY Assembly building.

In Pionirski Park [opposite assembly building], it was agreed that delegates from all the different places in Kosovo should submit their proposed demands in order to unite them. There has also been a call for the urgent installation of loudspeakers and for traffic to be halted in the road next to the assembly building. An organizing committee has still not been formed.

Meeting Joined by Locals

AU0103112389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Some 600 citizens of Serb and Montenegrin nationality who came to Belgrade from Kosovo this morning are in Pionirski Park, in front of the SFRY Assembly. They came from Pristina, Klina, Pec, and Kosovoska Vitina. Among them are 50 miners from the Kisnica and Novo Brdo mines.

At present, the members of the organizing committee are drafting their demands which will be sent to the highest state and party leaderships of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Up to now the gathering has behaved in a dignified manner. Participants are singing Serbian and Montenegrin folk songs and chanting support for the Serbian leadership. The most frequently chanted slogans are: Kosovo is Serbia; and We will not give Kosovo. They also chant: Yugoslavia; and Brotherhood and unity.

This meeting has been joined by several thousand Belgrade citizens, who have brought food and water.

Other Protests Reported Throughout Country

Meeting Held in Ljubljana

LD0103113989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2004 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—A meeting was held in the Cankar Hall in Ljubljana this evening in protest against the introduction of the state of emergency and for peace and fellowship in Kosovo. It was attended by over 2,000 people. The meeting was opened by Joze Osterman, president of the SAWP city conference, who noted that its organizers are: the SAWP republican conference, the Slovene Trade Union Federation, the Socialist Youth Federation of this republic, the LC Central Committee, the SUBNOR, the Slovene Peasants' Alliance, the Alliance of Slovene Peasant Youth, the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance, the Slovene Democratic Alliance, the Skuc-Forum Federation of Associations, the Debate Club 89, the Commission for Justice and Peace, the Slovene and Croat Helsinki Declaration Group, the Slovene Students' Federation, the Slovene Writers' Association, the Slovene Pen Center, the Interepiscopate Committee for Students, the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, the council for the protection of human rights attached to the SAWP republican conference, the section for culture in peace, the working group for peace movements, and the initiative group for international amnesty.

The meeting was opened with a recitation of "Kosovka Devojka," performed by the leader of the Ljubljana drama company, Polde Bibic. The first speaker, Joze Skolc, stressed that today in Yugoslav society, Albanians are a second-rate people, which could also be the fate of the other Yugoslav nations and nationalities if the policy of intranational tolerance were to become dominant. Skolc thinks that Albanians in Yugoslavia are in a similar position to that of the Jews in the past, stressing that for this reason the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation have been printing badges throughout the night with the inscription "Kosovo my homeland". I am wearing this badge as a warning that in this hysteria, I could find myself at any moment as a citizen without citizens' rights.

We have gathered at this meeting out of our joint concern for the future, for the responsibility for the lives of Kosovo miners and for the fate of Yugoslavia, stressed Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium. For us, the miners underground are neither Albanians, nor Serbs, nor Montenegrins; they are workers, people who were forced by hardships to choose such a "Gandhilike" way of revolting. No one has the right to settle political scores over anyone's lives, said Kucan, stressing that human lives were above any political command. This is and remains our orientation, and for this reason there can be no more pressing task at this moment than to see the miners come outside their shafts and their agony cease.

We demand, added Kucan, that all activities and measures of all the organs and leaders in Kosovo, Serbia, and in the entire country be subordinated to this basic human obligation. Kucan expressed the hope that the pressure of human solidarity would be sufficient for the victory of reason and dignity, for the prevention of complete national division at a moment when even the Serbian and Montenegrin miners are remaining inside the mines with completely opposed demands, which indicates that people are no longer living beside one another, but increasingly against one another.

According to Kucan, policies which permit doubt as to whether human lives are more important than the preservation of political positions are bad, inhuman, and nonsocialist.

When people put their lives at risk, then the battle for the people has to begin, instead of going on with the struggle for power, said Kucan. He stressed that everything has to be done to prevent casualties. This is the condition for arriving at a sober and tolerant dialogue with the miners concerning their demands, and a dialogue is possible only with living miners.

As long as miners are in the pit, it is humanity which must speak while the battle for power must stay silent, said Kucan adding that it is now obvious who is interested in human dignity and who is interested in power. Politics cannot be pursued in the street or under the pressure of lives being put at risk. They must be saved and politics can be discussed afterwards. This cannot be done without the people who in this tragic way have drawn attention to their troubles.

Kucan said that the people who think that the miners are not right must save their lives if they still want us to believe in their good intentions. On the other hand, the people who think the miners are right must save their lives because they are human beings and not because they are right. Lastly, those who do not know whether the miners are right must do the same if they simply want to be considered human beings.

We raise our voice against the guns leading to a state of emergency [vanredno stanje] because we are deeply convinced that sooner or later the will of the people, of the nations, and of the nationalities who want to live in Yugoslavia in harmony, peace, and together, and who want to respect each other will win.

Milan Kucan also said that Stari Trg did not stand only for the defense of the rights of the miners there, but for the right of the citizens and Communists in that province to elect their own leadership; the issue did not just involve national equality in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, but also the defense of Yugoslavia based on AVNOJ principles and the equality of every republic and nation in it, including the Slovene republic and nation. We all feel that if the miners' case becomes a tragedy, that would be our defeat as well, and a vocal intimation of minority nations and nationalities being driven to the margin or even into foreign parts afterward, said Kucan.

He stressed that in a Yugoslavia based on AVNOJ principles, the Slovenes are not casual fellow-travelers. They took part in the creation of that Yugoslavia, and therefore, in the future, they want to take the responsiblity for its prospects, based on democracy, socialism, and equality of nations and nationalities. We protested against the fanning of the psychosis of the state of emergency, we warned that a quiet coup was happening before our very eyes, which persistently changes the character and the very essence of AVNOJ Yugoslavia, said Kucan. He stressed that Slovene Communists and the LC of Slovenia did not want to take part in the establishment of such a Yugoslavia.

In expressing our solidarity with the miners, we do not deviate from our principled stands and we are not in favor of cadre and constitutional changes being foisted with threats and ultimatums, even when we are dealing with Kosovo miners, workers, and young people, stressed Kucan. He expressed protest against double criteria, whereby without stopping to think, revolutionary spirit is attributed to Serb meetings while, a priori, doubt exists as far as the Albanians are concerned, even when they shout in favor of Tito, the existing Constitution, and their party leaders.

Kucan made the assessment that the idea that some commonsense changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia are required is not in dispute. In themselves, they do not abolish the autonomy, but it is true to say that fear of this is being intensified by tendentious interpretations that this was only a first step toward the liquidation of the provinces. The Stari Trg miners instinctively felt that danger, said Kucan, and only firm guarantees that this will not happen can get them out of the pit.

We Slovenes are a small nation; this is why solidarity with a threatened minority is close to our hearts. This, no doubt, is how the Albanians feel as they clash with hegemonist tendencies, especially the greater-Serb ones, said Kucan. However, in his view, Serbs and Montenegrins are also a minority in Kosovo, and unless they are safe, free, and equal there can be no stability, common life, and peace in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. The Albanian minority is duty-bound to ensure this; this must be their moral commitment, and even more than that.

Kucan underlined that only malicious and narrow-minded people can interpret "our support for Stari Trg miners as amounting to support for irredentists." A policy which is directed against any nation is not our policy, said Kucan. Neither the anti-Albanian policy in Serbia nor the anti-Serb policy in Kosovo can have our support, said Kucan in conclusion. [passage omitted]

On behalf of Slovene miners, Joze Kozar expressed solidarity with the miners in Stari Trg and asked for the demands of the miners and the problems they are pointing out to be resolved in a humane fashion.

Joze Smole stressed the resolute demand that political common sense be used to arrive at a joint solution and prevent the tragedy. As far as he is concerned, in relation to political, ideological and strategic deliberations, priority must be given to saving human lives.

Smole assessed the meeting tonight as an appeal to commonsense and the defense of humanity, and emphasized that the inhabitants of Slovenia demand politically wise, responsible, and ethical action which will help peace and togetherness in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. They also demand that basic human and civic rights and liberties in all parts of Yugoslavia, as a state based on law, be ensured.

In Smole's assessment, special measures cannot achieve anything; direct democracy and political pluralism is the only prospect. Smole stressed in particular that it would be utterly irresponsible for anyone in Yugoslavia to label the meeting tonight as anti-Serb. Slovenia has always resolutely resisted all the attacks on the Albanian nationality and the creation of an anti-Albanian mood. It has also resisted all the attacks on the Serb nation and the creation of anti-Serb sentiments.

More on Ljubljana Gathering

LD2702200489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1849 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—In the large hall at Cankarev Dom in Ljubljana, a gathering has started "against the introduction of a state of emergency, for peace and togetherness in Kosovo." The protest is being carried live by Ljubljana radio and television. This gathering was convened by the sociopolitical organizations, societies, and alliances within the SAWP framework. In a packed hall, the participants were greeted by Joze Osterman on behalf of the city conference of the Ljubljana SAWP, who stressed that a statement expressing full solidarity with the striking Kosovo miners was circulated today throughout Slovenia and signed by over 100,000 citizens of this republic who are against the introduction of a state of emergency [Vanredno stanje] and for peace and togetherness in Kosovo.

Pristina Students Protest

LD2802152189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Lecturers, the staff, and students of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality at Pristina University today tendered their collective and irrevocable resignations from all administrative, self-managing, and political functions at the university. The resignations were announced at a protest meeting at which the defeatist policy resulting from the pressure by the nationalist-separatist movement was denounced, and support given to the stands and conclusions of the country's state and party leadership and of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Serbian Presidency. Warnings were issued that Yugoslavia was facing the most serious danger in its postwar history and, in their view, even with disintegration.

Skopje Students Gather

LD2802140689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Skopje, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Students of Skopje University have begun to gather at a square outside the law school. The reason for this gathering, organized by the University Conference of the Macedonian Youth Organization, is the current situation in the country and Kosovo.

Appeal Made to Miners

LD2802215189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Summary] Skopje, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Over 5,000 students, young people, and workers gathered in front of the law faculty of Skopje University today to call for an end to the strikes, demonstrations, and protest meetings that destabilize Yugoslavia. Today's meeting supported the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium in their efforts to stabilize the situation in Kosovo. The meeting also sent an appeal to the miners in the Leposavic mine to come out of the mine for the sake of their health and for the sake of Yugoslavia.

50,000 at Cacak Demonstration

LD2802162289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Cacak, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Today around 1200 GMT, more than 50,000 people gathered in the main square of Cacak to express their full support of the party and state organs of Yugoslavia and Serbia and to demand that culprits responsible for the present situation in the country be held accountable. [passage omitted]

A telegram sent to top state and party organs of the country especially stresses the demands for the ensuring of a peaceful and free life for all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, for Serbia to receive the same constitutional rights as other socialist republics, and that anyone anywhere in the country who undermines constitutional order or supports Albanian nationalists and separatists be held accountable.

150,0000 at Novi Sad Meeting

LD2802180689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1658 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Summary] Novi Sad, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, today addressed a protest meeting in

Novi Sad attended by over 150,000 people from all over Vojvodina. He sharply condemned the Albanian nationalists and seperatists in Kosovo. Those at the meeting also listened to a live relay of Dizdarevic's speech to the Yugoslav Assembly in Belgrade.

10,000 Demonstrators in Pec

LD2802165589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1710 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Pec, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Nearly 10,000 Serbs, Montenegrins, and Muslims from Pec and the surrounding area gathered today at a protest meeting in the sports hall here and expressed their support for the party leaders of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Kosovo.

The participants in the gathering expressed their unreserved solidarity with the action of the miners of Leposavic and formed a delegation which will visit them and convey their conclusions to them. A telegram was also sent from the meeting to the students at Belgrade University, which expressed support for the stances they adopted at their meeting yesterday.

In a letter of protest to the leader of the country and the Yugoslav public, the participants in the gathering called on all those who love this country to unite, because its enemies have already done this.

There was particular condemnation of the behavior of the Slovene and Croatian leaders in connection with the recent events in Kosovo, accompanied by the assessment that this is a factor destabilizing the country. They also conveyed to Yugoslavia that they have no intention of leaving their hearths, and that they will not give in to pressure from the enemy. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Polje 'Uncertain'

AU2802184689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Unattributed report]

[Text] The situation in Kosovo Polje this evening is very uncertain. Some 1,000 people, who today held a rally in the cultural hall, invited Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to leave for Belgrade this evening for yet another time. An appeal is being made to Serbs living in Kosovo to meet in front of the railroad stations in Belgrade between 0700-0900 [0600-0800 GMT]. At the meeting it was not made clear whether or not this means a collective emigration, or exactly what will they do when they arrive in Belgrade. But it is expected they will demand that the top leadership of Yugoslavia finally ensure a peaceful and just life in Kosovo.

This afternoon, journalists were told that this will not be a collective emigration. This meeting appealed to all Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo to tender their resignations from their posts.

Otherwise, this evening on the last day of February, Kosovo Polje is quite. Additional militia forces have not been noticed.

Protests Said 'Ended'

LD2802223689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1948 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Summary] Pristina, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—All the protest meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins which took place in a number of places in Kosovo over the resignations of Morina, Azemi, and Sukrija, have ended. As announced during all these meetings, a large number of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins will travel to Belgrade during the night. Some have already left.

Round-Up of Protest Meetings

LD2802212789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1714 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—7 parts of Yugoslavia were today swept by a wave of protest rallies held to express strong condemnation of the developments in Kosovo, part of the Republic of Serbia, and also disagreement with the assessment of the situation in that province and the causes of the eight-day miners' strike made at yesterday's meeting in Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia.

The Ljubljana meeting, organized by the republic's socio-political organizations, expressed full support to the demands by miners of Albanian nationality calling for the resignations of the province's party leaders. It was also said at the meeting that ethnic Albanians are those actually threatened in Kosovo, while the policy of the Serbian leadership in that province was described as "criminal."

In reaction to the assessments made in Ljubljana, it was said at scores of rallies held in the Republic's of Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and the Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina that they constituted an attack on Yugoslavia and also an open support to the Albanian separatists' blackmail and goals.

As reports of new protest rallies keep pouring in, it is clear that they all emphasize the support to the stance and decisions concerning the developments in Kosovo adopted by the country's state and party leaderships.

The rallies also condemn as unprincipled and harmful the support expressed by the leaderships of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia to the striking ethnic Albanian miners, whose eight-day strike forced the resignations of the province's party leaders. It is also stressed that this support does not contribute to Yugoslavia's unity, but to its partition.

Some 50,000 people attending a rally in Titograd, capital of the Republic of Montenegro, expressed unanimous support to the stands of the leaderships of Yugoslavia,

the Republic of Serbia and the Province of Kosovo on ways to curb the activity of Albanian separatists. They also condemned some of the speakers at last evening's meeting in Ljubljana, describing their attitude towards Albanian separatists in Kosovo as inadmissibly tolerant.

Nearly 150,000 residents of Novi Sad, capital of the Province of Vojvodina, said at a rally today they will not let Yugoslavia being endangered in front of their very eyes.

We are resolved to use all means available to oppose those bent on breaking the unified territory of Serbia and pressing for ethnically pure Kosovo, which is part of the plan for a greater Albania, provincial party leader Nedeljko Sipovac said.

University students in the Macedonian capital of Skopje today called for an end to blackmail, pressure and political strikes in Kosovo which are helping the efforts to destabilize Yugoslavia.

The students demanded the consistent implementation of the stands and decisions of the state and party leaderships of the country.

Hundreds of thousands of people attended protest rallies in Nis, Kragujevac, Krusevac and other towns in Serbia to voice their strongest condemnation of the submission to the Albanian separatists' demands. They (?demanded) that Kosovo party leaders Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi and Ali Sukrija withdraw their forced resignations.

A large number of workers in Knin, a town in the Republic of Croatia with predominantly Serb population, staged a walkout today and gathered at a protest rally to condemn the support of some socio-political organizations in Croatia and Slovenia to the striking miners in Kosovo's Trepca mine and their demands.

They also demanded that a special bank acount with contributions for the Trepca miners be closed because, they said, that money is not intended for miners, but for Albanian separatists in Kosovo.

Any new mistake can push us to an abyss, president of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Latin said today speaking about the latest developments in Kosovo. He noted that harsh words and constant accusations of others for all the problems cannot be Yugoslavia's defence. It is untenable, said Latin, to negate the right of everybody in this country to decide on the country's future in a democratic manner and without voting.

The Ljubljana City Party Committee today also discussed the dramatic situation in Kosovo. In addition to reiterating the assesments made at yesterday's protest meeting in the capital of the Republic of Slovenia—which expressed solidarity with the strike of ethnic Albanian miners in the Trepca mine—committee members adopted a statement "against the imposition of emergency measures for peace and togetherness in Kosovo."

The Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia today also reacted to the Ljubljana gathering at which a badge bearing the Star of David and an inscription "Kosovo my homeland" was distributed. As stated at the meeting, this was to show that the position of Albanians in Kosovo was identical with the situation of Jews during World War Two.

"We resolutely protest against the abuse of the Jewish national symbol and the symbol of the suffering of the Jewish people under Nazis," said a statement issued by the Federation of Jewish Communities. This, it added, was supposed to show that the position of Albanians in Kosovo is identical with that of the Jews under Nazis, which in no way relates to the exact situation.

Zagreb Construction Workers Strike for More Pay

LD2502100289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1950 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 24 (TANJUG)—Around 700 workers of the construction firm Industrogradnja of Zagreb, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, went on strike today, demanding pay increases, administration staff cuts and better working conditions.

Underscoring that their average pay last month stood at 330,000 dinars (slightly over 50 U.S. dollars), the workers demand that the lowest pay be set at one million dinars (around 150 U.S. dollars).

The Croatian government has proposed to the striking workers that a solution to their demands be found at a meeting of strikers' representatives, the Industrogradnja management and members of the Croatian government on February 27.

Dissatisfied with the republican government's proposal, many workers insist that their demands be met immediately and it is not known whether they will turn up for work tomorrow.

Yugoslav builders do not have enough work. Of the 64,000 construction workers in Zagreb alone, 26,000 are redundant labour.

Leposavic Miners' Strike Draws to End

Resignations Demanded

LD2802142689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Leposavic, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—About 1,000 miners of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality who are refusing to leave their pits in the Leposavic mine have extended a list of their demands and are now calling for the resignation of Remzl Koljkgeci, president of the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo. Explaining their demand, the miners say that Koljgeci concealed the list of names of those who organized the November demonstrations and that he sided with the Stari Trg miners.

The Leposavic miners are also calling for the resignations of Nazmi Mustafa, president of the Kosovo Executive Council; Adem Hasanaj, president of the Kosovo youth organization; and all the members of the presidium of the Kosovo Trade Union organization.

Production in the mine continues in three shifts but the miners are still refusing to leave. They have received numerous telegrams of support from various parts of the country. Eleven members of a delegation from Klina, sent from a protest meeting, are also down the pit.

Agreement Reached at Talks

AU2802192489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Kopaonik miners from Leposavic should leave the mine pit this evening. They decided on this after talks between Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference, and members of the organizational committee. Miners accepted Mitrovic's call which said that their demands are in line with what the SFRY Presidency and the Presidency of the SR of Serbia are now undertaking.

It was agreed that two members of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia will continue talks with the miners on Friday on all of their demands.

2-Day Occupation Ends

LD0103085689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0813 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—About 500 Trepca miners at Stari Trg gathered this morning in their canteen. As they announced yesterday, they are seeking a response to their remaining demands of last week.

Meanwhile, the last miner came up from the pits at the Kopaonik mine in Leposavic at about 0200 today after 2 days spend down the pits.

400 Belo Brdo Miners Refuse To Leave Pit

LD2802214589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2033 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Leposavic, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—About 400 miners of Serbian, Montenegrin, and Muslim nationality in the Kopaonik mine's Belo Brdo pit have refused to leave the mining shafts and asked members of the protest organizational committee to come to the shaft for talks.

In contrast to this the Crnac pit miners have already left the shaft following talks with Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Serbian Presidency.

The miners of the Zuta Prlina pit have not yet left their shaft but there is a chance that they will do so soon.

Summary of Albanian Work Stoppages in Kosovo

LD2702125989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1145 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—In many Kosovo collectives, mass work stoppages by workers of Albanian nationality are continuing today, and there are also numerous protest meetings by Serbs and Montenegrins.

About 500 Serbian and Montenegrin national workers of the first shift at the Dobro Selo mine today held a short protest meeting at which they demanded tha there be no retreating from the policy of changes which has been embarked upon in Kosovo, and that all stances and conclusions adopted with regard to this province be carried out consistently. They then returned to work, and are maintaining production. Their colleagues of Albanian nationality are still not working, in support of the Stari Trg miners and their demands.

In the Trepca lead-smelting works in Titova Mitrovica, 130 workers of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, including a few Albanians and Muslims, signed a petition expressing their readiness to start the blast furnace at the smelting works within a 5-hour period. The furnace was extinguished yesterday, and if it is not started up again quickly, it will not be able to operate for the next month. The petition states that the condition for restarting operations in the smelting works is a guarantee for the personal safety of the workers and protection for the technical operation.

A meeting in Klina of the Committee of Self-Organized Serbs and Montenegrins [not further identified] announced plans for a future gathering. A meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins has begun in a hall in Kosovo Polje, while in another there is a meeting of Albanians. Today, as well, lessons conducted in Albanian are being boycotted at many schools in Kosovo, and support is being expressed for the Albanian miners at Trepca. Lessons conducted in Serbo-Croat are taking place with difficulty because of all the well-known circumstances of the situation in Kosovo, and also because in some schools there is no heating or electricity.

Ethnic Albanians Allegedly Meeting at Stari Trg

AU0103113389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] We have the latest report from the Stari Trg mine. Here is Milorad Jovic:

[Jovic] Stari Trg has been blocked off. The militia is not allowing anybody except for the local population to enter the place. Militiamen did not want to tell us anything more about the situation, including the protest meeting that ethnic Albanians have allegedly been holding in the mine's canteen.

We also visited the Crnac pit at Leposavic. As its head, Dragoslav Djelosevic, told us, production is going on normally. The people are a little tired, but are doing their best to dig as much ore as possible.

Ethnic Albanian miners have not arrived at work today, the third day in a row. We were told that because of this they may bear all the consequences envisaged by law.

Stari Trg Miners Scheduled To Meet 1 Mar

LD2802222389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Stari Trg, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Mensur Fejza, member of the managing board of the Stari Trg mine, told TANJUG that a new meeting of miners is scheduled for tomorrow 0700 [0600 GMT], at which the 'fate of other demands should be considered.' The demands were made by the miners last Monday, when they started the strike.

However, Bohran Kavaja, director of the mine, later said that the Committee for Social Protection and All-People's Defense concluded that 'technical and security conditions' for the meeting do not exist. Furthermore, according to the committee, which was in session today, it is not possible to hold the meeting, as a result of 'the state of health of the miners' who spent 8 days underground and came out as recently as last night. [passage omitted]

According to official information, 60 miners are in the clinic in Stari Trg, one is in the Pristina hospital, and 63 are in Titova Mitrovica (hospital).

Between Titova Mitrovica and Stari Trg, security measures are being reenforced. A large number of police cars, which are controlling movements, are on the road (between the two places).

Kosovo Official Comments on Stari Trg Events

LD2802112889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1043 GMT 28 FeB 89

[Text] Pristina, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Jusuf Karakusi, under secretary in the Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs, said today that preparations for the recent events in Stari Trg went on for several months and that his service had information about them.

Karakusi, who spoke at a session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, added that judging by what the internal affairs service had learned, the preparations included "psychological" training.

The provincial under secretary described the situation in Kosovo as "exceptionally difficult." He said that the discontent among the Albanian population displayed during the public debate on the constitutional amendments in the SR of Serbia and their dissatisfaction with the assessment of the November events were skillfully used by national leaders.

Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Meeting Detailed

LD2802230789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—The political-security situation in Kosovo is extremely intricate and difficult. It became evident once again how resistant nationalists are in their activity and how much opportunism and resistance to the policy of the LCY there is in Kosovo. Therefore, efficiency is needed in our work in order to improve the situation in the province. Efforts must be made to insure that the miners in the Leposavic mine come out of the shafts as soon as possible to avoid another "Stari Trg" and to persuade all workers, students, and children to resume their everyday duties.

This was said today by Djumret Selmani at a session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee [PC]. He also noted that today Serbs and Montenegrins continue to gather throughout Kosovo and that in some of the schools in Pristina children of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality did not attend classes.

People must be told in clear terms where divisions, nationalist delusions, and sinister messages could lead us. It is primarily the children, young people, and working class who must be protected from this evil, Selmani stressed. The LCY line, Tito's path, and self-managing, socialist, nonaligned Yugoslavia must win. To this end, the struggle for the LCY's policy must rally all progressive forces in the country. We must do our utmost to carry out to the end the changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia in order to succesfully counter opportunism and increase responsibility at all levels.

In his introductory remarks, Selmani made reference to protests in Belgrade and other towns in Serbia, saying that they should be interpreted as reflecting the progressive forces' desire for peace, and for better living and prospects in both Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

Jusuf Karakusi said that Albanian nationalists, spearatists, and careerists in their desire to present themselves as national leaders, had skillfully taken advantage of the discontent among the Albanian population caused by the constitutional changes and the November events. They continue to drive them toward more quarrels with other nations and nationalities in Kosovo, to divisions, and to civil war. When they had exhausted all other means of mobilizing the Albanian population against the LCY policy, the "leaders" resorted to the most sensitive method: blockades and blackmail, using the miners.

These actions, Karakusi said, were prepared for a long time and were prompted by the alleged loss of rights for the Albanians in Kosovo. They were told that the changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia will lead to their losing the right to their own language, schools, and culture. In this way people were manipulated. The majority of miners were aware and understood the

reasons behind these events and their consequences, but they could do nothing since they had no go-ahead from their leaders and organizers.

Karakusi placed special emphasis on the need for unity in overcoming polarizations and said that the majority of Albanians were prepared to live in harmony with other nations and nationalities in Kosovo.

The LC must consolidate its ranks quickly, Rahman Morina noted, adding that the PC and its Presidium carried the greatest share of responsibility for the situation in the province. Having stressed the need for urgent measures to implement the LC line and improve intranational relations, Morina also called for swift action by municipal LC committees, saying that some of these were not prepared to carry out the LC actions.

Tomislac Sekulic found the renewal in the PC and its Presidium encouraging and became convinced that common sense had prevailed and that there was readiness to speed up efforts to carry out the policy and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee.

Albanian nationalists and separatists, however, chose a very attractive platform (the constitutional and cadre changes) to rally the people, often persuading the miners to adhere to their oaths so as not to be condemned by their own people. Sekulic stressed and announced his intention to resign his post of secretary of the Kosovo LC PC. He does not agree with the resignations of Morina, Azemi, and Sukrija, and if he were to stay in this post it might be interpreted as support for the old policy which led to the present situation.

Djordje Bozovoic and Ljubomir Popovic also announced their intention to resign. If they do so, Hasim Redzepi said, he also will resign. His view is that people are needed at the front in the struggle for the LCY line and that the Presidium of the Kosovo LC PC should in no way be allowed to become single-national. [passage omitted]

Following the debate, the session continued behind closed doors with a report on latest developments in Kosovo. After this, the session was interrupted following a proposal by Major General Andrija Silic to call a meeting of the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection in order to work out the PC's action in implementing special measures in the province.

In the proceedings of the session, which continued after a short break used for reaching an agreement about action on the ground, Ljubomir Popovic, Jordan Kostic, Sonja Scepanovic, Milan Krnjevic, and Vojislav Zajic announced their resignations during the discussion. All of them expressed unreserved support for Rahman Morina, Ali Sukrija, and Husamedin Azemi. They stressed that acceptance of these resignations under pressure and blackmail would mean a deviation from LCY policy.

They are united in their belief that the miners' strike and work stoppages by workers of the Albanian nationality are a deliberate action behind which are individuals and groups from political and economic structures who are losing ground and whose names must be made public. It was said that the miners are being sacrificed to prevent the implementation of the politics of change in Kosovo. Some participants in the discussion distanced themselves for the support the Slovene and Croatian leaderships expressed for the manipulated Trepca miners. [Words indistinct] Baskim Hisari said that he also would offer his resignation if members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality did the same.

Adem Hasanaj, president of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation, said that he would tender his resignation only if the miners in the Kopaonik mine in Leposavic demanded it.

Kacusa Jasari demanded that a difference be made between causes and discontent of workers and miners, on the one hand, and demands that run contrary to LCY policy, on the other. Jasari vehemantly denied rumors that she had participated in organizing the November gatherings and demonstrations of the Albanian nationality.

There is no more urgent task than to make the effort to get the people who have been on strike or who still are on strike to return to work, and to get pupils to return their schools.

Having noted in his lengthy speech that hostile forces, in the first instance Albanian nationalists, are trying to direct developments in Kosovo in the way they want, Hasani recalled the necessity of introducing special measures in the province because, he said, we should not play with the fate of the country.

Turning to the resignations of Morina, Azemi, and Sukrija, Sinan Hasani stressed that they do not mean capitulation in the face of the Albanian nationalists and separatists. They were forced by the situation and they are the result of human consideration because the lives of people were in danger.

Zoran Andjelkovic, a member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, stressed that the LCY will win the battle in Kosovo. He drew attention to the vital need to clearly state who were the organizers of the events in Stari Trg. When Andjelkovic raised the question of whether, and in what function, Azem Vlasi had visited the mines, Rahman Morina replied that it was true and that Vlasi did this, as Remzi Koljgeci also explained to him, out of personal feelings.

'RILINDJA' and the programs of Pristina radio and television in Albanian, in the view of Dragoljub Pajrc, executive secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, did not serve to calm things down but engendered emotive solidarity with all those who had

been below or above ground at Stari Trg. He is convinced that these organs joined in the hampering of the implementation of LCY policy and served to make the new provincial leadership unpopular.

If the heralded resignations of the Kosovo LC PC members follow today, Ilijaz Ilijazi and Sokolj Basa said they would submit their resignations, as well.

Summing up today's debate, on the basis of which the conclusions will be prepared, Rahman Morina stressed that everything must be done to improve the political security situation in Kosovo, which is threatening to turn into intranational conflicts. All citizens and working people, he stressed, should respect and consistently implement the special measures in the province. The primary task of the state and other competent organs is to establish who used the miners to implement goals that are contrary to LCY policy.

Third Presidium Member Resigns

LD2802153789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Besides Tomislav Sekulic and Djordje Bozovic, at today's extraordinary session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium another member of this forum—Ljubomir Popovic—announced his resignation.

This resignation was also explained as in disagreement with the resignation of Rahman Morina, which was requested by those forces opposing LCY policy.

Ljubomir Popovic sought an answer to the question of who the Albanian language public information media have been serving over the last few days. From the beginning they have been writing with great sympathy about the state of the Stari Trg miners and thus have created a peculiar kind of psychosis among the people. He also requested that the names of the organizers and creators of the drama in Stari Trg be made public as soon as possible. These forces, Popovic said, will have to bear the greatest responsibility both for the health of the miners and for the consequences of the overall situation in the province.

Party Favors Special Measures

LD2802225289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2130 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—The party leadership of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo this evening called on all citizens to observe the special measures imposed in the province and discontinue protest rallies and strikes.

After nearly nine hours of discussion of the situation in the province weighed down by several days of strikes by the majority Albanian population and two days of protests by minority serbs and montenegrins, the Presidency of the party Provincial Committee assessed as a priority task a speedy discovery of those who had abused 1,300 Albanian miners for their political goals.

(Outgoing) President of the League of Communists of Kosovo Rahman Morina said that the provincial organs were already working on this.

For eight days, from February 20 through 27, the miners were on strike in the Stari Trg mine of the Trepca lead mining complex, demanding the resignations of the Yugoslav minded leaders of the Kosovo party—Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi and Ali Sukrija. The miners ended their strike and left the mine shaft last night after their demands had been met.

Addressing today's session, member of the Yugoslav state Presidency from Kosovo Sinan Hasani stressed that the resignations of Morina, Azemi and Shukrija were not a capitulation before separatists, but a result of humane consideration and the wish to save the endangered lives of the miners.

Hasani assessed the introduction of special measures in the province as necessary and stressed that "we must not trifle with the fate of the country".

In the discussion, ten or so members of the provincial party leadership of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality announced their resignations. They all upheld Morina, Azemi and Shukrija without reservations, stressing that to give in to pressure and blackmail and accept their resignations would be tantamount to deviating from the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Members of the Provincial Committee Presidency of Albanian nationality pointed out that resignations by their Serbian and Montenegrin colleagues will not contribute to stabilizing the situation in the province. Three of them, however, announced their resignations if their Serbian and Montenegrin colleagues should persist in their decision.

Kosovo Presidency Members Threaten To Resign

AU0103082289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Three people announced their resignations at the closed session of the Kosovo Presidency at which political-security situation in the province was discussed. Petar Kostic, Bozidar Lazic, and Svetislav Vukovic said that they will tender their resignations if Rahman Morina, Ali Sukrija, and Husamedin Azemi step down from their posts.

Kosovo SAWP Presidium Members To Resign

AU0103114289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Slobodan Dimic, Dragoljub Stevanovic, Aleksandar Vasic, Svetlana Pesic, and Jorgovanka Milojevic, members of the Provincial Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Kosovo, announced their resignations today. In their written resignations they point out that the forced resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija are a result of blackmail and pressures by Albanian nationalist and separatists forces.

SAWPY Backs 'Special Measures' in Kosovo

LD2802180189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1635 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY), the country's largest political organization, on Tuesday fully upheld the special measures imposed by the Yugoslav Presidency in Kosovo for stabilizing the situation in the province, one of the two in the Republic of Serbia.

The special measures, introduced on Monday in agreement with the Presidencies of Serbia and Kosovo, cannot be called into question by anything, because they were taken to preserve the system, SAWPY Presidency President Bozidar Colakovic told a session of the leadership.

While some SAWPY Presidency members thought that the measures should have been taken earlier, Marjan Kotar of Slovenia said that there was concern in this (?republic) over the measures, which he called "emergency ones," and claimed that each of them was suspending the constitutional order.

The Yugoslav People's Army representative, retired general Milan Daljevic, told Kotar that the special measures protect the essence of the self-management system and do not change it.

Colakovic told the SAWPY leadership that number one man in the Slovenian Socialist Alliance leadership Joze Smole had arrived in Belgrade but refused to attend the session because of today's protest rally in the capital. Smole called the rally a form of pressure on the SAWPY Presidency.

His statement was assessed as unacceptable.

About one million people from Belgrade and other cities in Serbia and the Province of Vojvodina assembled in the Yugoslav capital to protest over the situation in Kosovo and yesterday's meeting in Ljubljana. The meeting came out fully in support of the striking Albanian miners, describing the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo as endangered and demanding that no state of emergency be imposed in the province.

Anyone with any ethics whatsoever was concerned about the lives of the striking Albanian miners, who stayed for eight days underground in the Stari Trg mine, but emotions must not hide the separatist and other assaults on Yugoslavia, pointed out Colakovic.

Colakovic described the resignations submitted by Kosovo party officials Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi and Ali Sukrija in response to an ultimatum by the striking Albanian miners, as a moral and democratic right of the individual, but said that their implications for the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should be estimated.

On the suicidal strike of Albanian miners, Colakovic demanded that the ringleaders be separated from the Albanian people, noting that a battle for the Albanian people would have been won more easily and that, in consequence, Yugoslavia would be stronger, if that had been done in connection with the demonstrations held in the province in 1968, 1981 and last November.

Colakovic said that a speedier reaction had been necessary in order to settle the Albanian miners' strike, and added that a solution for the current strike of Serbian, Montenegrin and Moslem miners in the Leposavic mine should be found now in order to avoid a repetition of the miners' drama.

Many members of the leadership of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance, the sociopolitical organization with the largest membership in Yugoslavia, criticized the rally held in Ljubljana last night and at which Slovene leaders upheld the demands of Albanian miners, assessed that Albanians in Kosovo were threatened like Jews had been during World War Two and demanded that no special measures be introduced in the province.

Retired general Milan Daljevic expressed concern over a statement heard in Ljubljana that one shudders at the sight of a uniform of the Yugoslav People's Army. This uniform will be seen in the streets wherever necessary, but only at the supreme command's decision and strictly in keeping with the law and the Constitution, Daljevic emphasized.

Reacting to a statement made last night by Slovene party leader Milan Kucan that he would fight for a Yugoslavia and a socialism free of coercion, Mirko Ostojic said that this was an ideal to be aspired to in some future society, but that we are living in a real society. Kucan should know that the army will be used to combat counterrevolution wherever it may appear, Ostojic underlined.

Statements, Comment on Kosovo Situation Noted

Slovenia Calls for Resolution

LD2502211889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—Today the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia sent a telegram to the Presidencies of the SR of Serbia and the SAP [Socialist

Autonomous Province] of Kosovo in connection with events in the SAP of Kosovo. The telegram expresses the deep concern of the inhabitants of Slovenia regarding the hunger strike of the Trepca miners and developments of events that have exacerbated intranational relations and deepened the political crisis in the province and the whole country.

The republican committee for information informs that according to the Presidency, relations in Kosovo are exacerbated to such an extent, that a slow and inadequate approach to resolving the situation could result in grave consequences for Kosovo and Yugoslavia. For that reason, the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia suggests to the Presidencies of the SR of Serbia and the SAP of Kosovo that to prevent further exacerbation of the situation a dialogue should be held with striking miners, who should be respected with all political and human responsibility. Continuation of the miners protests can have a tragic ending and, therefore, fast and resolute measures should be undertaken not only for political reasons, but above all for humanitarian ones, the telegram of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia states.

Press Presents Views

LD2602155389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1404 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 26 (TANJUG)—Mass protests in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo provoked by unfounded fear of members of the majority Albanian population that current changes in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia will jeopardize Kosovo's autonomy have brought the situation there on the verge of inter-ethnic conflicts, the Skopje daily NAVO MAKEDONIJA writes on Sunday.

There is no more doubt that these events are the long-awaited goal of Albanian nationalists and chauvinists who since 1981 have been instigating and spreading the counter-revolution in Kosovo, the paper says.

The strike of 1,300 Trepca miners, in its seventh day today, and their demands for the Serbian Constitution to remain unchanged and for replacement of several provincial party leaders is a typical example of the manipulation of the working class, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA points out. "All that has been happening in Kosovo lately, and especially these days, is the result of a major, perfectly directed script by Albanian separatists aimed at at least slowing down, if not defending what no longer can be defended", says POLITIKA.

The fallacy among the Albanian masses that constitutional changes in Serbia would threaten Kosovo's autonomy is primarily due to the long-standing nationalist and separatist indoctrination and the opportunist and complacent attitude of some former strongmen in the provincial leadership, POLITIKA says.

Life itself has shown that constitutional solutions from 1974 broke the unity of Serbia, dividing it nationally and economically (to "Serbia proper" and two provinces with republican autonomy) and blocking it politically, it adds.

All insinuations that the current Serbian leadership is unitarist and centralist and that it wishes to create a "greater Serbia" are untenable, malicious and utterly senseless, the paper notes. The Serbian people, being the largest ethnic group in Yugoslavia and scattered throughout the country, has clearly demonstrated that it cares very much about living together with the other Yugoslav peoples with whom it shares a common past, POLITIKA underlines.

The recent adoption of draft amendments on Serbia's Constitution by the republican assembly actually returned to the republic the jurisdiction over its entire territory, with the two provinces losing nothing of their autonomy, the daily says. It therefore came as no surprise when Yugoslav party leader Stipe Suvar asked in Pristina yesterday why are so many Albanians in Kosovo alarmed over changes which have to be made to give Serbia control over its territory, POLITIKA concludes. The Zagreb daily VJESNIK criticizes the Yugoslav and Serbian party officials for delaying their arrival in Pristina for four days and for not even attempting to meet at least some of the miners' demands in order to create better possibilities for a settlement and calming of the situation.

The daily asks whether Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic should have respected the will of the people in the case of the protests in Kosovo too, in accordance with the motto he has repeated so many times.

Why did the miners ask for the presidents of the Presidencies of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and the League of Communists of Serbia rather than the president of the Yugoslav State Presidency or the president of the Yugoslav Assembly in which, at least formally, all republics and provinces have their delegates, VJESNIK also asks.

The answer to these questions is clear, it says, because the legitimacy of all these institutions has excluded true democracy from the country's political life through LCY's political and cadre monopoly which has lasted too long.

The resoluteness to embark on a radical reform of the LCY, announced in the decisions of the LCY conference, has been blocked by the struggle within the party itself between those urging the regeneration of the old communist model and those in favour of democratization of the LCY and society as a whole, the daily concludes.

Democratic Initiative Statement

LD2602210189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1848 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Over the last 8 years both the republican and provincial political organs have displayed incompetence in providing conditions for tolerable intranational relations or in guaranteeing basic

human rights to the citizens of Kosovo. Popular discontent has become particularly widespread and intranational relations exacerbated over the last 12 months. It is therefore obvious that neither the policy as pursued hitherto nor the existing institutions can provide prospects for resolving anything. The continued exacerbation in the overall situation in Kosovo can have unforseeable consequences.

This is being stressed in a statement by the executive committee of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative for the Yugoslav public and the SFRY Assembly, details of which were disclosed in Zagreb this evening. The statement was made in connection with the developments in Kosovo and is signed by its chairman Dr Zarko Puhovski.

The public dying of Kosovo miners, the statement says, is a harsh indication of the extent to which the existence (both social and political) of many people in the country is threatened. The undemocratic "solution" of the nationality issue is reflected in the growing belief among the Yugoslavs of Albanian nationality that neither the SFRY nor the SR of Serbia can provide them with conditions to live as equal citizens and on the other hand in the growing feeling of danger among the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. The widely publicized differences between the two currents in the country's party top have, in this case, been totally unproductive. Different attitudes to the earlier and present attempts to replace political leaderships in different parts of Yugoslavia clearly indicate that the Albanians are being treated as second-class citizens and people.

In light of all this the executive committee of the recently founded Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative is of the view that deep intranational mistrust in Kosovo cannot be resolved through temporary cadre compromises and unprincipled changes in the law, let alone through the use of force.

The only way out, the statement goes on, is by reducing present tensions through democratic efforts on the part of the entire country in order to give democratically reached solutions a chance. Since neither the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo nor the SR of Serbia have succeeded in securing normal functioning of legal and political institutions or bearable existence for their population, it is urgent to pass a law giving the SFRY Assembly the right to suspend all present legislative and administrative organs in the SAP of Kosovo and bring Kosovo under direct control of the federal civil organs.

For the same reasons an appropriate procedure should be used at the federal level to suspend present LC forums and other sociopolitical organizations in Kosovo. Following a pre-set deadline (not longer than a year) for the expiry of these measures, free election would be held in Kosovo and, after a democratically organized debate throughout the country, a referendum on its future status, the executive committee of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Intiative says concluding its statement for the Yugoslav public and the SFRY Assembly and concerning the events in Kosovo.

Union Officials Make Plea

LD2802142189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1327 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 28 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav trade union leadership today appealed to the working class, in its own interest and in the interest of the country, to help stabilize the situation in Yugoslavia by resuming regular production.

At a special session held yesterday and today, the federal trade union leadership discussed the latest developments in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The discussion was held on the basis of information provided by the Kosovo trade union organization and statements of a number of trade union officials who visited the troubled province in the past few days.

The trade union leadership of Yugoslavia drew attention to the extremely serious and very difficult situation in Kosovo. It expressed concern for the health of the ethnic Albanian miners and had staged an eight-day underground sit-in at Stari Trg and for the fate of the Leposavic miners, predominantly Serbs and Montenegrins, who have in protest against the sit-in at Stari Trg gone down into the pits themselves. The trade union leadership appealed to the Leposavic miners to abandon those methods of seeking solutions to the existing problems.

On behalf of the working class of Yugoslavia, the workers who have suspended work are urged immediately to end strikes and stop materially exhausting the economy and, in line with the character of Yugoslav society, to help resolve problems democratically and through an open and argumented dialogue, the statement released by the Yugoslav trade union leadership states.

The trade union leadership called on the competent authorities, within the frameworks of their rights, duties and responsibilities, to ensure a normal functioning of the state system. It urged the trade unions in full to open themselves to the interests of workers and miners and as soon as possible to review the miners' demands.

The Yugoslav trade union leadership will again send a working group to Kosovo to acquaint miners and other workers with the positions it has adopted.

Vojvodina Assembly President Relieved of Post

LD2502134489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—At todays's joint session the delegates of all three chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly reached the decision to relieve Zivan Marelj of his duty as president of the provincial assembly, after his resignation from this office.

Janos Sreder, delegate in the sociopolitical chamber, was elected acting president of the Vojvodina Assembly.

Dr Katalin Hajnal, vice president of the Vojvodina Assembly, was relieved of this duty because her mandate had ceased as delegate in the sociopolitical chamber in which she represented the previous Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee. At the session of the sociopolitical chamber, the resignation was Marija Miskolci-Zvekic for reasons of retirement was adopted, as well as of delegates Zuzana Denc and Miroslav Francuski, who failed to obtain a vote of confidence from their grassroots.

Jovan Popov will be acting president of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Vojvodina Assembly.

Markovic Meets Croatian Presidency Members

AU2102140589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Full Support for the Program"]

[Text] Zagreb, 19 February—Ante Markovic, president-designate of the FEC, today had talks with the Presidency of the SR of Croatia and the presidents of republican organs and organizations about the key elements of the social reform and about the work of the future FEC in this context.

As was announced, the talks encompassed the most important questions and solutions for implementing FEC activity in carrying out the changes which are a part of the president-designate's comprehensive reform program.

It was stressed that the program and the proposed activities are based on an overall concept of socioeconomic changes for which a united Yugoslav orientation exists and whose realization the SR of Croatia has supported and whose formulation it has also actively participated in.

As the president-designate himself stressed, it was assessed that the most immediately important thing was to regulate economic life according to economic laws and make economic entities independent.

Full support was also given for the program of the president-designate and the readiness to cooperate in any way and contribute to the realization of the proposed concept was also expressed.

'Revolution in Croatia' Predicted To Occur

AU2602161189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 89 p 5

[Report on interview with Miroslav Solevic, member of the former Committee for Protests, by R. Barjaktarevic; date, place not given]

[Text] Miroslav Solevic from Kosovo Polje, member of the former Committee for Protests, or, as some people call him, "the Kosovo Polje commissar," said in an interview with NEDELJNA DALMACIJA that "a house cleaning is expected in Bosnia-Hercegovina very soon, and that Croatia will then follow." What kind of revolution does Solevic predict, who does he think is going to carry it out, and when is it going to happen?

Expounding on what he stated in NEDELJNA DALMACIJA, Solevic said the following:

I have not yet seen the newspaper to which I gave the interview and do not know what is contained in it. It is true that during that lengthy interview, I predicted a quick house cleaning in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and then in Croatia. For that is inevitable and must be carried out in Bosnia-Hercegovina this spring. However, Croatia does not have to follow immediately afterward!

[Barjaktarevic] You said that some groups are already working on this, that they have been in contact with you and are asking for help. Who are they, what kind of help do they want, and why?

[Solevic] We are all working on this. We, the members of the former Kosovo Polje committee and the people associated with the committee, do not want to be initiators, but we want to take part, as we have done so far, whenever the people replace the ossified bureaucracy. Therefore, if somebody such as Galijasevic or somebody else asks us publicly to come to Sarajevo, we shall form our committee in 15 minutes and get there. You see, we are indebted to Galijasevic. Nevertheless, we have produced a platform for them and it is their duty now to work on it—they are working on breaking up the ossified bureaucratic structures. The action is most probably going to be carried out by discontented workers in Zenica, miners of the Kreka-Banovic mine.... They must do so after having made the mistake of permitting tension to be created among them. That cannot last long. Politics is not made of rubber and cannot be easily mended; it is made of glass and the glass has been broken.

Bosnia-Hercegovina does not have the money to pay for social peace or to cover the workers' and people's discontent. The ossified bureaucratic structures must go, just as they have in Vojvodina and Montenegro, just as relations in Serbia have been changed, and just as is being done in Kosovo at the moment. I tell you, this is almost a fait accompli in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is only a question of time as to when we shall see the bureaucrats step down from power. We have to do things this way because they will not go otherwise. All the old revolutionaries with whom we have talked have told us that this is in fact a reaffirmation of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. In Bosnia-Hercegovina the greatest support will come from the veterans' organizations and the youth.

[Barjaktarevic] You are announcing preparations for pressuring the "structures," first in Bosnia-Hercegovina and then in Croatia. Who will be leading this?

[Solevic] We will find somebody. Just as events in Montenegro, for instance, have pushed Momir Bulatovic, Ljubisa Stankovic, Vasilije Milutinovic, Jovan Mrkus, and others to the foreground, the same thing will have to happen in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Barjaktarevic] You predict that "Croatia will be the next in line" immediately afterward. Who is "in charge" in the case of the "revolution" in Croatia?

[Solevic] We consider the revolution in Bosnia-Hercegovina to be a fait accompli and, let me repeat, the results will come in the spring. As for Croatia, this does not have to happen immediately afterward. However, one is already working on this there. I told NEDELJNA DALMACIJA that a group of intellectuals from Zagreb have visited us. They wanted us to help them, but we refused. I have heard that VJESNIK has already carried a commentary on my interview for NEDELJNA DALMACIJA. I did not say that we shall help overthrow the leadership there, but that we shall join them if we are asked, just as we went to Skopje when they called us. Nevertheless, Croatia's turn will come as well. First, because of the closeness of events in Vojvodina and Montenegro, as well as the events that will take place in Bosnia-Hercegovina. When there is trouble in your neighbor's house, you will be in trouble, too. Second, if politics there fail to become democratized—so that the people and working class can have their say—then the people and working class will be forced to achieve all this by themselves. Well, that is being worked on. The people from Zagreb who visited me and some other people here—former members of the Committee for Protests—are working on this. We have checked out these people—it is not a hoax.

[Barjaktarevic] What in fact do you who "are working on this" want?

[Solevic] Remember, I am not working, but predicting. I predict such changes for Slovenia as well. Great contradictions have been created between the eastern and western parts of the country in understanding things. One of these two opposite views must win. A democratization of relations, which has been carried out in the eastern part, will be completed. It started from the top. In the western part, however, the ossified bureaucratic structures still control politics and conduct them in the old bureaucratic way, which has led us to where we are now. The idea of progress will have to overcome there, just as it has in the eastern part of the country. There will be a revolution there as well, for the very reason that bureaucrats with stagnant minds think that the people are not a legal structure. However, I hope that when they realize that the people are the most legal structure of society they will no longer be in power.

[Barjaktarevic] All this that you "prepare" and "predict" is nevertheless outside legal structures. Have there not been enough meetings, and have they not been diverting the attention of subjective [subjektivne] forces?

[Solevic] Had democratic relations and AVNOJ principles really been implemented, this would not have happened. The biggest trouble is that we are helped by VJESNIK and DANAS, which spread revolt among the people by the way they write. You know, the way RILINDJA, DNEVNIK, and POBJEDA were writing helped all this to come about. Had these newspapers been writing in a different way, these well-known events would not have occurred at all.

[Barjaktarevic] What do you predict will happen in Kosovo?

[Solevic] Everything that has happened so far has taken the form of minor tremors. The ground will calm down in Kosovo, because the new leadership will not miss its chance to normalize the situation. We shall see this in the first test—the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

Loncar Proposes Meeting on FRG Visa Policy

LD2302180989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1859 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia'a Ministry of Foreign Affairs has offered the Federal Republic of Germany's Ministry of Foreign Affairs a new meeting between the two countries' foreign ministers at which to consider in an all-round manner all circumstances and consequences of again introducing visas for Yugoslavs who wish to travel to the Federal Republic. This offer includes his possible meeting with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the Yugoslav foreign minister said.

This initiative is still another attempt at preventing a decision being held here to be in line with the West German legislature and clauses of the 1968 bilateral agreement on visa abolition, but as running counter to the general climate in Europe and, particularly, to the Bonn Government's working to make possible a free circulation of people from one country to the other.

Zemljaric Receives Hungary's Medgyessy

LD2402045489 Budapest MTI in English 1344 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 23 (MTI)—Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, currently paying a visit to Yugoslavia, was met on Wednesday [22 February] by Janez Zemljaric, deputy president of the Yugoslav Government, in the town of Sombor.

The two sides surveyed the development of economic relations, and decided on measures to be taken for the gradual elimination of restrictions hampering extension of economic cooperation. They also decided on increasing the role of trading houses. The sides deemed it advisable, to take full advantage of the Alps-Adriatic wide ranging regional cooperation and the opening of the tax-free areas. They exchanged views on the proposals for transforming CMEA, and the two countries' cooperation with international financial organizations.